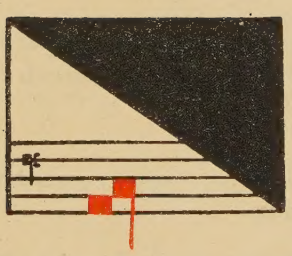
MVSICA DISCIPLINA

A Journal of History of Music

ARMEN CARAPETYAN

Editor



Volume Two

Fascicles 1 and 2

1948

PUBLISHED BY THE

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY IN ROME

ROME

CONTENTS

Editorial 3

A Recently Discovered Source of Early Fifteenth Century Music, The Aosta Manuscript
Guillaume de Van 5

Two Studies on Music in Education:

La Pedagogie musicale a la fin du moyen age
Guillaume de Van 75

Music in the Schools of the Reformation
F. W. Sternfeld 99

Anselmi's Treatise on Music Annotated by Gafori
Jacques Handschin 123

The Influence of *Musique mesurée à l'antique* Particularly on the *Airs de Cour* of the Early Seventeenth Century
D. P. Walker 141

Notes and Documents:

Two Mensuration Canons *Manfred Bukofzer* 165

A Second Sienese Fragment of Italian Ars Nova
Federico Ghisi 173

Announcements

The Second Summer Session of the American Institute of Musicology in Rome 179

Publications of the American Institute of Musicology in Rome

Dufay – *Opera Omnia*

Contents of Volume One

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

Bukofzer, Manfred, *Two Mensuration Canons* 165

Ellinwood, Leonard, *Tallis' Tunes and Tudor Psalmody* . . . 189

Ghisi, Federico, *A second Sienese Fragment of Italian Ars Nova* . . 173

Handschin, Jacques, *Anselmi's Treatise on Music Annotated by Gafori* 123

Lesure, Fracois, *Claude Goudimel, étudiant, correcteur et èditeur parisien* 205

Pirrota, Nino, *On the Problem of « Sumer is Icumen In »* . . . 205

Sternfeld, F. W. *Music in the Schools of the Reformation* . . . 99

Tiby, Ottavio, *Sebastian Raval — A 16th Century Spanish Musician in Italy* 217

Van, de, Guillaume, *An Invertory of the Manuscript. Bologna, Q. 15, (Olim 37).* 231

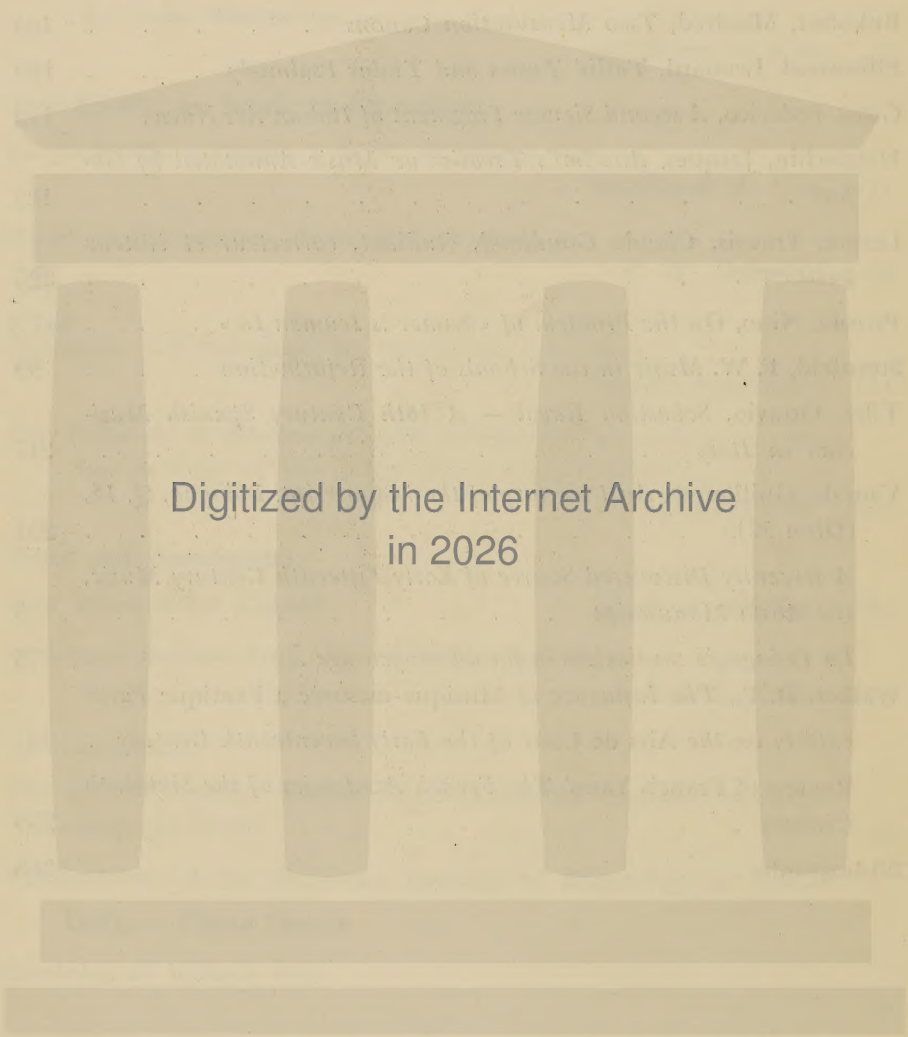
A Recently Discovered Source of Early Fifteenth Century Music, the Aosta Manuscript 5

La Pedagogie musicale a la fin du moyen age 75

Walker, D. P., *The Influence of* Musique mesurée a l'antique *Particularly on the* Airs de Cour *of the Early Seventeenth Century* . 141

Review of Francis Yates' *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* 259

Bibliography 263



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/musica-disciplina_1948_2_1-2

EDITORIAL

The *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*, its first volume completed, is succeeded by *Musica Disciplina* *, of which the present issue is a double fascicle.

In a prospectus ** presenting the new plan of the Institute it was said that *Musica Disciplina* would comprise four fascicles annually, and that on occasion it would appear in irregular sizes and at irregular intervals. This plan was adopted with the belief that the expanded facilities and the flexibility in general thereby gained would favor both reader and author. It is hoped that the present issue will justify the beginning of the plan.

Communications have been received from a number of distinguished musicologists on the delimitation of the field covered by *Musica Disciplina*. Some have commended it, others have made inquiries and offered observations; none, remarkably, has disapproved it. At all events it seems desirable to say again that the plan of confining attention to early music was the very reason for conception and existence of the Institute, and that *Musica Disciplina's* circumscribed field only coincides with that of the Institute as a whole, including the other publications (musical monuments, treatises), and subjects dealt with in the courses of the summer sessions.

A goodly number of musical periodicals serve the general history of music. The Middle Ages and the Renaissance surely deserve one periodical devoted exclusively to them. The *Musica Disciplina* specializes in the history of Mediaeval and Renaissance music – and the unexpected quantity and quality of subscribers witness to the desirability of at least one such specialized periodical publication. However, as stated in the editorial of the last issue, articles dealing with subjects from surrounding fields will not be excluded, though naturally such subjects will be related to the field of specialization in question. In the present issue the article by D. P. Walker is a case in point. At such a time as compelling reasons will dictate

* For a remark on the new title see the editorial to Volume I, No. 4.

** Distributed in January, 1947.

it, *Musica Disciplina* will not be averse to extending its field of specialization beyond the present confines.

Following the example of some esteemed publications, debate in the first volume of this periodical was barred. It has however been decided that full exchange of views between scholars must not be hindered and that replies to criticism in book reviews, or observations on articles and replies to such observations will be published, *if* authors will restrain tremselves and not indulge excesses or polemics for the sake of polemics.

Many inquiries, especially from European scholars, are being received concerning studies in progress; they request coordination of work being done in the field of Mediaeval and Renaissance music by scholars in America and Europe. Scholars are invited to utilize *Musica Disciplina* as a clearing house for information on work in progress and as a channel for obtaining and exchanging information or material. If in performing this service *Musica Disciplina* will at the same time renew and further relationship between scholars of the nations cast asunder by the war, it will serve a good cause and will satisfy one of the aims of the Institute.

Finally, at the beginning of a new volume of this publication the Editor wishes publicly to offer deeply felt thanks for so many expressions of kindness and friendship to *Musica Disciplina* and to the Institute.

A. C.

P. S.

A Bibliography of books, articles and editions of music, dealing with the Middle Ages to the end of the 17th century, and covering the entire year, will appear in the last fascicle of the present volume. The list will be prepared by scholars in several countries and will be arranged in groups representing these countries.

A RECENTLY DISCOVERED SOURCE OF EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY POLYPHONIC MUSIC

GUILLAUME DE VAN

It is to my friend and colleague, Dr. Nino Pirrotta of Palermo, that I am indebted for the first knowledge of the existence of the Aosta codex. The announcement of my forthcoming edition of Dufay's complete works inspired him generously to inform me of this unknown manuscript, and in October 1946, he sent me, at Paris, a description of the volume, with an inventory of part of its contents, which he had drafted during a short stay at Aosta in 1939. Dr. Pirrotta's attention had been drawn to the manuscript by that ardent and indefatigable searcher, the late Mgr. Gino Borghezio, who has probably explored more thoroughly than anyone else the obscure libraries of his native Piedmont. Thus, musicology owes to the zeal of this prelate, who was in no sense himself a musical historian, the discovery of two manuscripts of exceptional significance; both of them belong to ecclesiastical collections of ancient episcopal cities hidden away in the *Val d'Aosta*[1].

The partial inventory which Dr. Pirrotta sent me, thoroughly excited my interest, and I resolved to visit Aosta and study the volume at the first possible moment. Towards the end of January 1947, I arrived at the ancient mountain capital, birthplace of S. Anselm, and knocked at the door of the Diocesan Seminary. The authorities of that institution received me most courteously, and I wish here to express to them my deep gratitude for the permission they gave me to consult and photograph the manuscript described herein, as well as to explore the surprisingly rich, but uncatalogued Seminary Library. Assuredly, scholars of many disciplines could find there, among the hundreds of *incunabula* and manuscripts, new material to enrich their studies, and I express here an ardent hope that this collection may soon be brought to new life by a published catalogue[2].

[1] I refer to the Ivrea codex, discovered by Mgr. Borghezio in 1921. Cf. G. Borghezio, "Un prezioso codice musicale ignorato" in *Boll. stor. bibliogr. subalpino*, 24 (1922), 190–205; *id.* in *Archivum romanicum*, 5 (1921), 173–186, and H. Besseler, "Studien zur Musik der Mittelalters" in *AfM*, 7 (1925), 185 ff.

[2] A brief nomenclature of these *incunabula* has recently been published.

THE MANUSCRIPT

The mensuralist musical codex of the Aosta Seminary Library, without shelf number, and to which I propose to ascribe the siglum **Ao**, is a manuscript of 280 paper folios, measuring 272 × 202 mm. The original binding of wooden plates covered by brown calf scarcely holds the leaves together, being completely worn by time and neglect. There are three double folios of parchment, placed in the middle of their three respective fascicules, manifestly to prevent the stitches breaking through the paper. These folios are 55–56, 105–106, 118–119. Two other parchment leaves have been pasted on the inside of the wooden plates. The upper margin of fols. 1–35 has been sadly gnawed by rats, so that in many cases notes on the top stave of these pages have disappeared. An original foliotation in Roman numerals stands in the centre of the top margin. In the first fascicules, the same number is inscribed on the verso of one folio and the recto of the following leaf; further on, the numbers are attributed to musical works. But throughout, this foliotation is so erratic and inexact, that it is quite impossible to use it. I have therefore adopted the modern foliotation in pencil, placed at the lower right hand corner of each leaf, running from 1 to 281. This numeration has skipped the number 130, but I nevertheless preferred to respect the figures already inscribed (perhaps by Mgr. Borghezio), rather than complicate the situation by the adjunction of a third foliotation.

The manuscript is composed of 25 fascicules, compiled at different moments, and which fall into four distinct groups. Each of these groups is the work of a different scribe, and it is obvious that Section 1 and 2 were not originally destined to be bound in one volume, but were united by the copyist of Section 3. The last part of the manuscript, Section 4, represents a further addition by a fourth scribe.

Section 1 comprises fascicules 2–4 (fols. 13–48). It is written in a neat semi-gothic Italian hand of the middle of the 15th century, somewhat similar to that of the Montecassino codex[3]. There are ten staves by page, and discreetly ornate capitals of the usual « gothic »

[3] Cf. A. Pirro, "Un Manuscrit musical du XVe siècle au Mont-Cassin", in *Casinensia*, 1, 205–208. This short article is hardly a description of the manuscript, which, however, Pirro had studied in its every detail. There is no other published account of the codex.

Italian style. No colours have been used whatsoever, either for the staves or for the initials.

Section 2, comprising fascicules 5–13 (fols. 49–158), is the independent work of another hand, of the same period. The letters are semi-cursive, joined closely together, somewhat carelessly formed and interspersed with numerous, but conventional abbreviations. I should venture to say that this hand is most certainly a North Italian one. These fascicules have but eight staves per page, of five black lines. The initials of fascicules 5–13, simpler than those of Section 1, are painted in red and blue.

Section 3 is the product of a disorderly bastard hand, wherein Germanic influences are undeniable: a vague resemblance exists between this third Aosta hand and that of **Tr 88**[4]. The writing of this scribe is often almost illegible, due to badly formed letters, innumerable abbreviations and orthographical errors. However, it is probably he who united Sections 1–2 to his own group of fascicules, and it would equally appear that the ancient foliotation is of this hand. One may likewise suppose that the Roman numerals inscribed in the lower right hand corner of the first folio of each fascicule, be the work of Scribe No. 3, inasmuch as the numeration is not continued in the fascicules of Section 4. There remain only the numbers v, vi, vii, x, xii, xiii, xv, xvi, xviii, xx, xxi. I am unable to determine whether the missing figures were cut off by the binder, or whether they were never inscribed.

The Section is formed by fascicules 14–21 (fols. 159-258), to which must be attached the first fascicule of the manuscript (fols. 1–12), originally containing only a theoretical work. Scribe No. 3 compiled a table of contents on the pages following the treatise, and then inserted various musical works on the remaining leaves of the fascicule. Likewise, the same scribe has added various pieces on the empty pages of Sections 1–2. Fascicules 14–15 are ruled by nine staves per page; the remaining fascicules, including the first, have but eight staves of five black lines, save a few pages where an additional stave has been drawn. The capitals of this section are unpretentious, quite similar to those of Section 2; from fol. 174 on, they are designed with the ordinary ink used for text and music.

Section 4 represents a supplement added to the codex by another scribe, after the definitive compilation of the third *amanuensis*. It con-

[4] Cf. facsimile, plate III in *DTO*, 7.

sists of four small fascicules (22–25—however the last of these is but a single folio), written in a small disorderly semi-gothic hand, equally of Germanic origin, of the same type as that of **Tr 91** [5]. The pieces, none of which figure in the table of contents, are copied on pages containing ten staves each. All capitals have been omitted, and the scribe has hardly left enough space for them. This last section of **Ao** is in every respect different from the rest of the volume: not only its physical appearance, but, as will be seen later, the contents clearly prove that this part was added to the manuscript, very probably some years after the compilation of scribe No. 3.

A final word must be said here concerning the four groups of brief, elementary rules and principles of notation copied on empty pages of the manuscript. It is fairly probable that the fourth scribe wrote the *compendia* of fols. 244*v*°–245*r*° and 263*v*°–266*r*°; in any case, these two texts are certainly of the same hand. Less obvious is the origin of the eight rules of fol. 256*r*°, for they might have been the work of still another copyist. The writing on fols. 47*v*°–48*r*° is manifestly of an independent hand. Inasmuch as none of these texts is the work of a professional *amanuensis* (it is sufficient to compare these illegible pages with those of the initial treatise on fols. 1–3), I am inclined to believe that possessors or users of the codex, at various moments, inserted, for their convenience, these elementary rules and principles on empty pages of the volume.

The contents

The Aosta codex contains exclusively sacred music, nearly all of which is liturgical or para-liturgical. Three motets (Nos. 1, 188, 189) celebrate the merits of an anti-pope and two Roman emperors, and constitute the only exceptions to the religious content of the manuscript. All of the texts are in Latin. The complete absence of any secular subject is a striking characteristic of the collection; very rare indeed are those codices which, at this epoch, contain such a strictly non-secular repertory [6].

[5] Cf. facsimile, plate VIII in *DTO*, 7.

[6] Both **BL** and **BU** are interspersed with secular songs, as are the manuscripts of **Tr**; if **Mod B** contains only Latin texts, non-religious motets are nevertheless not infrequent.

There are 197 pieces in the volume, of which 17 have been copied twice in different fascicules, so that the real number of the works is but 180. Parts of the Mass Ordinary form the large majority of these, totalling 129 numbers. The 51 remaining works are composed of antiphons, communions, hymns, introits, Magnificat, motets, offertories and sequences. The following table shows the exact distribution of the contents of **Ao**, according to the various species mentioned above. The numbers are those of the progressive numeration assigned in the inventory published at the end of this article. Those numbers followed by an asterisk refer to *unica*.

TABLE 1.

Species	Total	Numbers
Kyrie	19	6*, 7*, 18/48, 19/53, 20, 21, 22/52, 23, 24, 25*, 26/46, 27/49, 28/47, 29, 50*, 51*, 54, 55, 56
Gloria	40	30/75, 32, 34/64, 36/63, 38/66, 40/65, 42/124, 43, 44*, 45, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61*, 62*, 67, 68*, 69*, 70, 71*, 72*, 73*, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 117, 149, 150*, 155, 156, 162, 169*, 171*, 175*, 177*, 190*, 195
Credo	30	31/87, 33/82, 35/92, 37*, 39*/93*, 41, 80*, 81, 83, 84, 85*, 86, 88, 89*, 90, 91, 94*, 95, 96*, 97, 118*, 125, 126, 163, 166*, 170*, 172*, 173*, 174, 191*
Sanctus	24	98, 99*, 100*, 101, 102*, 103, 104*, 105, 111, 112, 114, 127, 130, 132*, 145, 158, 164, 167*, 178*, 179*, 180*, 182*, 183*, 184
Agnus	16	106, 107, 108*, 109*, 113, 115, 116, 128, 129*, 131, 151*, 154, 159*, 165, 176*, 181*
Antiphons	12	119, 121, 137, 139*, 142, 143, 144*, 146, 147, 148, 152, 157
Communions	2	4*, 5*
Hymns	3	140*, 141, 161
Introits	11	2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12*, 13*, 14, 15, 16, 17*
Magnificat	3	133*, 134*, 168*
Motets (non-isorhythmic)	12	110*, 120*, 122*, 138, 153, 160, 185/197, 186, 187*, 192*, 193, 196
Motets (isorhythmic)	6	1*, 123*, 136, 188*, 189*, 194
Offertories	1	3
Sequences	1	135

The species of the manuscript's contents have determined the order of the pieces assigned to them by the various scribes who copied the codex, which was, as stated above, definitely arranged by the copyist of Section 3. Although the concept of the Mass–unit is almost completely absent in the manuscript [7], the order of the five units composing the Mass Ordinary has been respected in the first two sections. Section 1 opens with a group of introits (8–17), followed by a collection of Kyrie (18–29). Then are found a series of Gloria and Credo in pairs (30–41), some of which are linked together by a common musical element, such as Tenor theme or identical incipit; others have been arbitrarily juxtaposed, probably by the copyist. However, in some cases where the music does not warrant this union, a traditional bond has been established clearly manifested by the concordances of other sources. This union of Gloria–Credo is the nucleus of the later Mass–unit. The earliest manuscript where it appears systematically is the splendid Cyprus codex (**Tu B**) [8].

The first Section of **Ao** is closed by four isolated Gloria (42–45). I would readily believe that these three fascicules constituted the beginning of an organically planned Mass codex, wherein the following fascicules would have contained, in the same strict order, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus. The plan was apparently not realised, and the compiler of **Ao** bound with this section another group of fascicules copied independently, from different sources (which the variants demonstrate), and containing many pieces already found in the first Section of the volume.

Section 2 constitutes a complete cycle of liturgical music of the Mass Ordinary, arranged in perfect order: it is indeed rare to find such a strict observance of a preconceived plan on the part of a scribe, and the unbroken succession of Mass fragments presents, in this central part of the manuscript, a very modern appearance. Fols. 49–59 contain 11 Kyrie; 21 Gloria follow (fols. 59*v*°–98*v*°). Then come 18 Credo (fols. 99*v*°–144*r*°), 8 Sanctus (145*v*°–154*r*°), and 4 Agnus (154*v*°–158*r*°).

The meticulous order of the central group, Section 2, did not inspire the third scribe to follow its example, for Section 3 is a hetero-

[7] A single trace of a united Mass is furnished by Nos. 162–165 in Section 3, where the four parts of the Mass *Alma Redemptoris* are copied in their order, minus the Kyrie, as in **Tr 87**. On the other hand, the four parts of Grossim's Mass *Trompetta* (Agnus lacking) are distributed in their specific groups, at different places in the manuscript.

[8] Cf. Dr. Besseler's inventory in *AfM*, 7 (1925), 212 ff.

geneous collection of nearly all the musical species contained in the volume: antiphons, hymns, motets, etc., are mixed with liturgical Mass fragments, and it is impossible to discover any semblance of an organic plan for these fascicules. While it is certain that the scribe was in possession of the first sections, he nevertheless repeated one of the pieces of Section 2 (No. 42/124). He furthermore took the liberty of adding to the contents of Section 1, having copied a few pieces on empty pages. In these cases, he respected the already established order. Likewise, the group of introits which opens Section 1 was enlarged by the addition of four pieces from the *Proprium missę*, and two Kyrie, copied by the same scribe, who prefaced the entire manuscript with a long motet, observing a tradition which was still in vigour at the beginning of the 16th century.

The table of contents (fols. $3v^{o}$–$4r^{o}$), is also the work of Scribe No. 3. This very interesting list of titles, which has conserved the composer's name in many cases where the binder's scissors have cut it off of the upper margin, and in others where it was never inscribed, lists the volume's contents in the same methodical order adopted by the first two *amanuenses*, that is, according to species. The table has been very painstakingly drawn up. In very many cases, some feature of the Mass fragments has been chosen, in order to distinguish the innumerable works of same incipit one from another. Such entries as « Et in terra Dunstabel cuius tenor incipit Gratias », « Patrem brevioris imperfecti Dufay », « Et in terra breve cum duobus superioribus », reveal the minute care with which this list was compiled[9]. The index however does not contain the pieces added to Sections 1–2 mentioned above, nor the entire contents of Section 4, added at a later date by a fourth scribe.

As already remarked, the last section is quite different in character from the rest of the manuscript. Of the 12 works it contains, 9 are motets, and two of these celebrate a political event. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this section was added to the manuscript in order to conserve the music of a particular group of singers, possibly a choir attached in some way to the Imperial Court, to judge by the two historical motets which will be further discussed below.

There remains but a word to say concerning the theoretical work copied on fols. 1–3. This is the well known and widely disseminated

9 Cf. facsimile of this table, here published (plate 1).

treatise « secundum magistrum Johannem de Muris », which De Coussemaker published in his *Scriptores*. At four places in the manuscript, various inexpert hands have covered empty but ruled pages with uncouthly formulated rules and principles of mensuralist notation and solmisation. These texts are by no means treatises in the real sense of that word, being rather a summary of elementary musical technique of the period. They might well be the notes of singers, who jotted down the oral teaching of a master musician.

Composers

The majority of the pieces in **Ao** bears the composer's name in the upper margin. This has unfortunately often been cut off when the volume was bound, and in some cases, the loss is irreparable. Happily, the index usually repeats the author's name; in many cases this is furnished by other manuscripts, and finally, in one or two cases, the composer's name is the result of inherent evidence. Thus, 114 works can be definitely attributed to their authors (including 3 pieces under the name « De Anglia » or « Anglicanus »), 15 numbers, are the object of a double attribution, 6 are ascribed to composers on the basis of internal or circumstantial evidence. There remain 45 anonymous works, whose authors I have been unable to discover. The following list groups under each composer's name the works attributed to him, indicated by their ordinal number, according to the inventory published below. The figure representing the total number of works of each composer indisputably ascribed to him, is, when necessary, followed by a second numeral giving the total number of works whose attribution is double, and in these cases, the inventory number is followed by the name of the disputed composer, in parentheses. Those numbers printed with asterisks refer to *unica*, which will be discussed further on.

The six numbers attributed by me to various musicians demand a word of explanation:

No. 1. The final stropha of the *Motetus* text (vss. 46–48) reads:

> Hec Guilhermus dictans favit
> Nicolao, quod cantavit,
> ut sit opus consummatum.

TABLE 2.

Composer	Total	Numbers
Anglia (De) – Anglicanus	3	95, 97, 126
Bennet	0 + 3	145, 154, 155 (Dunstable for each)
Berken (Jo.)	1	73*
Binchois	24 + 3	2, 3, 22/52, 27/49, 36/63, 37*, 42/124, 45, 54, 56, 99*, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117 (Ja. de Clibano), 119, 120*, 121 (Dunstable), 122*, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 141, 196 (Dunstable)
Blome	1	178*
Brabant (Lambertus)	2	61*, 89*
Brassart (Jo.)	13 + 2	8 (Sarto), 9, 10, 11 (Sarto), 12*, 14, 16, 21, 25*, 41, 43, 44*, 185/197, 188*, 189*?
Clibano (Ja. de)	1 + 1	116, 117 (Binchois)
Dufay (Guillaume)	25 + 2	18/48, 19/53, 20, 23, 24, 26/46, 28/47, 29, 32 (H. de Lantins), 33/82, 34/64, 35/92, 58, 60, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84, 88, 91, 101, 103, 106, 107, 153 (Lymburgia), 161
Dunstable	13 + 10	40/65 (Leonel), 68*, 94*, 98, 104*, 121 (Binchois), 137 (Leonel), 138, 143, 145 (Bennet), 148, 149, 152 (Leonel), 154 (Bennet), 155 (Bennet), 157 (Leonel), 160, 166*, 167*, 171*, 194, 195 (Leonel), 196 (Binchois)
Franchois (Jo.)	4	30/75, 31–87, 74, 86
Grand Guillaume	2	59, 80*
Grossim	11	50*, 51*, 57, 62*, 67, 83, 85*, 100*, 102*, 108*, 109*
Lantins (Hugo de)	0 + 1	32 (Dufay)
Le Grant (Jo.)	2	38/66, 39*/93*
Leonel	8 + 5	5*, 40/65 (Dunstable), 137 (Dunstable), 146, 152 (Dunstable), 156, 157 (Dunstable), 162, 163, 164, 165, 169*, 195 (Dunstable)
Loqueville	3	69*, 76, 90
Lymburgia (J. de)	0 + 1	153 (Dufay)
Merques	1	193
Nelbeland	1	182*
Sarto (Jo.)	1 + 2	8 (Brassart), 11 (Brassart), 13*
Sovesby	1	180*
Sweitzl	1	111
Vineux	1	105
Zacharias (Nicolaus)	1	1*?

Both style and date of composition (the work must necessarily have been composed at the beginning of John XXIII's reign, viz., 1410) permit the attribution to Nicolaus Zacharias, who, as is well known, was a member of the papal choir in 1420 [10] and is designated in **Pal** as « cantor domini nostri pape ». We can reasonably suppose that Zacharias, already member of Cossa's chapel, was sollicited by the poet Guilhermus to set to music these verses of a partisan of John XXIII, who represented, at the beginning of his pseudo-pontificate, what many believed to be the legitimate papal authority, and the hope of putting an end to the Great Schism. Zacharias is, of the known composers named Nicolas, the most probable author of this interesting motet, of an undeniable Italian style. Fantasy might even suggest that nationalistic sentiment inspired the Brindisian musician to sing the praise of a Neapolitan pontiff.

N° 50. No one will question the attribution of this Kyrie to Grossim. It is the first number of a Mass which one might well baptise *Trompetta*, whose other parts (Nos. 62, 85, 100) are all ascribed to this Parisian composer. The entire Mass is constructed on a principle of alternating *Superius* duos, accompanied by a trumpet part, and the usual three-voice polyphony, *Superius*, *Contratenor* and *Tenor*.

Nos. 164–165. Here also the attribution is manifest; these are the Sanctus and Agnus of the Mass *Alma redemptoris*, anonymously copied in **Tr 87**, and whose Gloria and Credo are attributed to Leonel in **Ao**.

No. 167. This Sanctus *Da gaudiorum premia* immediately follows the Credo of the same Mass, ascribed to Dunstable. It would appear therefore that the two units of this Mass were the work of the same composer.

No. 189. I have suggested Brassart as the composer of this motet, inasmuch as he is the first of the series of musicians – all doubtless members of the Imperial chapel – named in the text, and because the preceding motet, of a closely related subject, is definitely ascribed to the Belgian author. This hypothesis, however, is subject to discussion, notwithstanding the style of the work, closely resembling the authentic production of this charming musician.

Of the 25 composers listed in Table 2, the names of 22 of them are found in the codex itself (including the « Nicolaus » of No. 1), and

[10] Cf. F. X. Haberl, "Wilelm du Fay", Leipzig, 1885, 57; *Idem*, "Die röm. Schola cantorum", Leipzig, 1888, 32.

3 are obtained through concordances (Lymburgia, Merques, Sweitzl). The list contains 6 names which, as far as I know, are completely new to musicology: Jo. Berken, Lambertus Brabant, Ja. de Clibano, Nelbeland, Sovesby and Vineux, each represented by one or two works only. Berken and Brabant (probably an epithet) are obviously Flemish, Nelbeland a German, Sovesby English, and Vineux French. It is difficult to assign a nationality to Ja. de Clibano (who disputes one number with Binchois). This curious name recalls that of J. de Climen, mentioned in the lost manuscript **Str.**[11] Among the remaining 16 composers, De Anglia or Anglicanus is already familiar to us, but the limits of this article do not permit an attempt to apply this epithet to one of the already known English musicians. Bennet – once written « Bonnet » – is manifestly the English Benet of **BL** and **Tr 87, 90, 92.** Blome is certainly another spelling for the Bloym found in **Tr 87, 92.**

To these names must be added those of the musicians mentioned in the text of No. 189[12], which groups the names of 5 « cantores » probably belonging to the Imperial chapel. Brassart and Sarto are alone known to us; Erasmus Adam (unless he be the Adam who composed three *chansons* in **O**), Johannes Tirion (possibly a scribal error for Jo. Touront) and Martin Galer (Martingale ?) appear for the first time in the catalogue of composers. But there is no proof that these men did produce works, and it would be prudent to count them as mere singers until music of their pen has been discovered or identified.

The list of composers furnished by **Ao**, and the attribution to them of so many works, is assuredly one of the most significant aspects of the codex. As the above table makes clear, the foremost names of the early 15th century are abundantly represented in the manuscript, and there is hardly any one of them whose known production is not augmented by this collection. But in addition to the *unica*, many works can be ascribed to their authors for the first time, thanks to the indications of **Ao**. Thus, Dufay, who stands at the head of this list with 27 attributions, not only counts a new Kyrie (No. 19/53), but can be considered the author of a Gloria (No. 77), anonymously copied in **BL**; Leonel becomes the composer of the heretofore anony-

[11] Cf. Ch. Van Den Borren, "Le Manuscrit musical M. 222 C. 22 de la Bibl. de Strasbourg", 88.

[12] Published here in Appendix 2, No. 2.

mous Mass *Alma Redemptoris* of **Tr 87**; the Gloria and Agnus (No. 154–155) attributed to Dunstable by Dr. Bukofzer, on the basis of internal evidence, are ascribed to Benet, etc., etc. It is not possible in this report to draw from each number of **Ao** all the conclusions which it offers, but scholars can, with the aid of the tables here published, incorporate into their source material the new information furnished by this excellent codex.

Concordances

The Aosta codex adds to the known polyphonic repertory of the early 15th century 70 *unica* – a considerable contribution indeed, due to the quality not only of the composers, but also to that of the anonymous works of this group, by no means the least interesting. The following table shows the repartition of these *unica* among the various species represented in the manuscript.

TABLE 3.

Species	Total	Species	Total
Kyrie	5	Antiphons	2
Gloria	14	Communions	2
Credo	13	Hymns	1
Sanctus	11	Introits	3
Agnus	7	Magnificat	3
		Motets (non-isorhythmic)	5
		Motets (isorhythmic)	4

It has been possible to attribute 36 of these works to various composers, leaving 34 anonymous pieces. The preceding Table 2 gives the distribution of this group among the composers represented in **Ao**. The remaining 110 numbers are already known by other manuscripts. The following table of concordances makes clear the relationship between the Aosta codex and the 21 manuscripts containing any one of the works copied therein.

TABLE 4.

Manuscript	Total	Numbers
BL	47	18/48, 20, 24, 26/46, 27/49, 28/47, 30/75, 31/87, 32, 33/82, 34/64, 35/92, 38/66, 41, 43, 57, 58, 59, 60, 67, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84, 86, 88, 90, 91, 101, 103, 106, 107, 121, 126, 135, 136, 137, 138, 143, 146, 147, 153, 160, 161
BU	7	20, 28/47, 35/92, 67, 91, 138, 195
Ca 6	6	26/46, 58, 79, 84, 86, 91
Ca 11	9	26/46, 45, 58, 79, 84, 86, 91, 125, 155
CS 15	1	161
CS 46	1	142
FM_1	1	143
Mod B	11	3, 121, 137, 138, 148, 152, 157, 160, 161, 194, 196
Mü L	2	143, 194
Mü O	20	20, 23, 26/46, 27/49, 29, 30/75, 31/87, 33/82, 40/65, 41, 57, 58, 86, 111, 121, 135, 138, 156, 185/197, 196
O	5	32, 59, 74, 76, 86
OH	1	194
OS	1	196
Pemb	1	138
Tourn 471	1	105
Tr 87	30	22, 27/49 (twice), 29, 33/82, 42/124, 45, 54, 56, 67, 70 (twice), 79, 83, 84, 88, 93, 119, 125, 145, 148, 153, 154, 162, 163, 164, 165, 174, 184, 185/197, 186, 196
Tr 88	1	131
Tr 90	37	2, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 27/49, 29, 32, 33/82, 34/64, 40/65, 41, 43, 55, 70, 78, 84, 90, 97, 119, 121, 127, 128, 145, 147, 148, 152, 154, 155, 158, 162, 195
Tr 92	39	8, 10, 20, 23, 27/49, 29, 34/64, 36/63, 40/65, 42/124, 45. 59, 79, 84, 88, 95 (twice), 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 125, 127, 130, 131 (thrice), 138, 141, 146 (twice), 148, 149, 152, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 193, 194, 195.
Tr 93	36	2, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19/53 (twice), 21, 22, 23, 27/49, 29, 31/87, 32, 33/82 (twice), 34/64, 40/65, 41, 43, 55, 70, 78, 84, 90, 97, 116, 119, 127, 128, 145, 154, 155, 158, 162, 195
Ven	6	26/46, 28/47, 34/64, 35/92, 103, 107

It will not have escaped the reader's notice that the large majority of these *unica* are found in the second half of the manuscript. Whereas the first two sections contain music widely diffused in almost all the sources of the period, this standard repertory is gradually supplanted by a new collection of works; from No. 166 on, concordances are very exceptional. This division of the contents into two groups, i. e., those works found in other sources, and the *unica*, cannot be a simple coincidence. It would appear that the classical repertory of Sections 1–2 was supplemented by a collection of pieces composed for a particular choir or chapel. This is another argument in favour of the hypothesis expressed above, to wit that the manuscript was definitely compiled for the use of the Imperial chapel or some similar institution.

Date and origin of the manuscript

The style of all the music contained in the Aosta codex makes it possible to affirm that this polyphony was composed in the first four decades of the 15th century, and that the greater part of its contents belongs to the years 1420–1430. The absence of black notation, however, proves that even the oldest parts of the codex (Sections 1–2) were copied after 1440 – more probably towards the middle of the century. However, it is safe to say that at least Sections 1–2 were copied from models written in black notation. Moreover, the similarity of the lessons of Section 2 with those of **BL** lead me to conclude that if **Ao²** were not copied directly from the Piacenza codex, both documents descend from a common prototype. Only three numbers of the volume allow of a precise dating (Nos. 1, 188, 189). These dates confirm the period suggested above by the musical style.

The first of these three works, all isorhythmic motets, is a long piece in praise of the anti–pope John XXIII (Balthasar Cossa of Naples). It is most surprising to read the hyperbolic epithets of the two texts [13], addressed to a man whom contemporaries and History have judged so severely, and whose reign was an unbroken succession of disasters. Such an apotheosis would have been unthinkable after the first calamities which followed John's return to Rome (pillage by King Ladislas of Naples, etc.), and I therefore suppose that text and

[13] Published here in Appendix 2, No. 1.

music were composed to celebrate the election of the already notorious tyrant of Bologna. This took place on May 17th, 1410, and we can therefore count this motet among the most ancient numbers of the Aosta repertory.

Nos. 188–189 belong to the years 1439–1440, and hence are assuredly among the most recent works of the codex. In fact, they are copied in the small Section 4, a collection of motets, as said above, added to the already complete manuscript by a scribe who assembled therein the works for a particular chapel. The presence of these two motets of circumstance – both *unica* – lead me to propose the Imperial chapel as that which, in possession of the volume, had bound with it this group of pieces, probably all composed by the Masters then in command, and whom the text of No. 189 names, as has been already explained. This motet bemoans the decease of Emperor Albert, who died in November 1439 after a short reign. The other piece celebrates the election of his successor, Frederick III, proclaimed King of the Romans in February 1440, and who ingloriously held the imperial sceptre for almost half a century.

I have already referred to the Germanic influences in the writing of the latter scribes of **Ao**. The probable possession of the volume by the Imperial Chapel, or by some chapel closely related thereto, confirms this paleographic evidence. The codex was undoubtedly copied and assembled in what is today North Italy, probably in the region of the Tyrolian Alps. How it came to form part of the Seminary Library of Aosta, I cannot say. On the parchment sheet pasted on the inner side of the first wooden plate, one can scarcely read, in the upper left-hand corner: « hic incipit liber cantori . . . P . . . centio devuyart ». Unfortunately, the *ex-libris* of the Seminary Library has been placed over this important inscription, which however may well have been the mark of a later possessor of the manuscript. The second parchment leaf, pasted on the inner side of the other plate, bears the encouraging motto: « tout se trovera », followed by a minute, illegible scrawl: « qui loytie fera ». Finally, on fol. 254*r*°, above a scale of mutations, a new hand has written, in florid cursive Germanic letters: « Est libri Vrsi Donzellizur (?) possidet hunc libellum (?) ». I confess that the significance of this inscription is by no means clear to me; it might however refer only to the scale drawn below.

Save these inconclusive marks, I can cast no further light on the origin and past history of the codex, but I express the hope that

other scholars, more fortunate than I have been, may reconstruct the *curriculum* of this most interesting manuscript.

The following table is a complete inventory of the contents of **Ao**. As has already been said, the foliotation used is the modern pencil one, inscribed in the lower right-hand corner. Words, titles, names added by me, with no documentary justification, are printed in italics. Parentheses indicate elements or composers' names furnished by other manuscripts. Pointed crotchets signify that the elements they inclose have been furnished by the manuscript's table of contents, or, in rare and obvious cases, by internal evidence of the number described. Blank pages are those void of staves, empty pages are ruled by staves but bear no notes. Incipits of those works added by a hand other than that of the fascicule described are indented. Titles of Mass fragments have been printed in small capitals, to distinguish them from the incipit, which is, in every case, a documentary transcription of the first words, or, in the case of poetry, of the first verse. Double texts of certain motets, with the incipit of their *T* are united by brackets; two or more texts for the same number, separated by a hyphen, in the incipit column, indicate alternative words superposed in the manuscript. A plus sign placed before the number in the voice column means that one of the voices is obtained by *Fauxbourdon* realisation. The indication of species has been omitted for all parts of the Mass Ordinary. The composer's name is a documentary transcription (save the capitals which I have normalised) in every case where the name is furnished by **Ao**. In nearly all other cases, I have used the modernised spelling. Concordances are cited by the usual sigla of the corresponding sources, of which a table will be found below, and the exact foliotation, save for the group of the Trent manuscripts, where I have cited the thematic number of Adler-Koller's and Ficker's inventories [14]. In a few cases, I have been unable to cite a folio for **BL**, because of the unnumbered intercalated pages of that manuscript; this has obliged me to resort to the ordinal numbers inscribed on each folio of the codex, probably by Gaspari. For obvious reasons, I have preferred these to the correct but unfamiliar numeration

[14] *DTO*, 7, and 61.

of Dr. Besseler. I have personally verified all the concordances here cited, except **Pemb**, for No. 138, which I have copied from Dr. Bukofzer's catalogue of Dunstable's works[15], and **CS 46** for No. 142, which was given me by my friend and colleague, Dr. Lawrence Feininger, of the Vatican Library. I owe to the Rev. Canon Joachim, of the cathedral of Tournai, the knowledge of the Sanctus in **Tourn 471**, which he allowed me to photograph in 1939. Under the heading *Remarks*, I have indicated any publication of the number described, any detail worthy of notice, and in the case of pieces from the *Proprium missæ*, their exact place in the present-day Roman liturgy. The subject of motets is likewise indicated, whenever this is not evident from the incipit.

[15] Published in *AM*, 8 (1936), 111–118.

Number	Folio	Incipit	Voices	Species
				(*Part*
		Fasc. 1		
	1*r*°	Q(uilibet in art)e practica mensurabilis cantus . . . secundum magistrum Johannem de Muris		
	3*r*°	– – – mensurabilis cantus inhelantibus introduci		
	3*v*°–4*r*°	*Original table of contents*		
1	4*v*°–7*r*°	Argi vices Poliphemus Com Pilemon rebus paucis	4	Mo Is
	7*v*°–8*r*°	*Blank*		
2	8*v*°–9*r*°	Salve sancta parens	3	Int
3	9*v*°	Felix namque es	3	O
4	10*r*°	Beata viscera Marie virginis	3	Co
5	10*v*°	Beata viscera Marie virginis	3	Co
	11*r*°	*Empty*		
6	11*v*°–12*r*°	*Kyrie Tr* Lux et origo	3	
7	12*v*°	Kyrie	3	
		Fasc. 2		
8	13*r*°	Spiritus domini replevit	3	Int
9	13*v*°	Salve sancta parens	3	Int
10	14*r*°	Cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti	3	Int
11	14*v*°	Gaudeamus omnes in domino	3	Int
12	15*r*°	De ventre matris mee vocavit me	3	Int
13	15*v*°	Repleatur os meum laude tua	3	Int
14	16*r*°	Sapientiam sanctorum narrent populi	3	Int
15	16*v*°–17*r*°	Nos autem gloriari oportet	3	Int
16	17*r*°	Dilexisti iustitiam	3	Int
17	17*v*°	Puer natus est nobis	3	Int
	18*r*°–20*r*°	*Empty*		
18	20*v*°–21*v*°	Kyrie	3	
19	21*v*°–22*r*°	Kyrie	3	
20	22*r*°	Kyrie	+ 3	

5.

Composer	Concordances	Remarks
3)		
	Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 7369, 1*r*°–8*v*°; Milan, Ambr. I 20 inf., 31*r*°–34*v*°; Rome, Vat. lat. 5321, 1*r*°–5*r*°; *Ibid.*, Vat. Pal. 1377, 82*r*°–89*v*°; Pisa, Bibl. Univ. 606, p. 19+–29+; Florence, Bibl. Laur., Ashb. 1119, 57*r*°–63*v*°; Rome, Bibl. Vallic., B 83, 31*r*°–38*v*°; *Ibid.*, Vat. Cappon. 206, 179*r*°–186*r*°; Einsiedeln, Bibl., 689; Saint-Dié, Bibl. munic. Florence, Bibl. Laur., Redi 71, 29*r*°–41*r*° (Ital. translation)	publ. *CS*, 3, 46–58
colaus *Zacharias* ?>		In honour of John XXIII antipope (1410–1415)
nchois>	**Tr** nos 852, 1664	2 versions: *T* & *Fb*; *T* & *Ct* – B.V.M.
nchois>	**Mod B**, 54*r*°	B.V.M.
		B.V.M.
nell		B.V.M.
ne cut off by binder		
to *over cancelled* rassart>	**Tr** n° 1522	Pentecost
Brassart	**Tr** nos 851, 1663	B.V.M.
sart	**Tr** nos 816, 1533, 1627	Corpus Christi
to *over cancelled* rassart>	**Tr** nos 842, 1655	Assumption of B.V.M.
Brassart		S. John the Baptist
Sarto>		Friday in the octave of Pentecost
assart>	**Tr** nos 833, 1644	Several martyrs
	Tr nos 813, 1624	Holy Cross
sart	**Tr** nos 840, 1652	A holy virgin
		Christmass, third mass
Du Fay	= n° 48; **BL**, 121*v*°–123*r*°	From *Missa sancti Iacobi*
Du Fay	= n° 53; **Tr** nos 1698, 1704	
ffay>	**BL**, 134*v*°–135*r*°; **BU**, p. 83; **Mü O**, 31*v*°–32*r*°; **Tr** n° 1387	

Number	Folio	Incipit	Voices	Speci
21	22*v*°	Kyrie (DE APOSTOLIS)	+ 3	
22	23*r*°	Kyrie (APOSTOLORUM *or* DE MARTIRIBUS)	3	
23	23*v*°	Kyrie ‹PASCALE›	3	
24	24*r*°	Kyrie	3	
25	24*v*°	Kyrie	3	
		Fasc. 3		
26	25*r*°	Kyrie	3	
27	25*v*°–26*r*°	Kyrie (ANGELORUM)	3	
28	26*v*°–27*r*°	Kyrie	3	
29	27*v*°–28*r*°	*Kyrie* (DE MARTYRIBUS *or* IN DIEBUS DOMINICIS)	3	
30	28*v*°–29*r*°	Et in terra	3	
31	28*v*°–30*r*°	Patrem (ALMA REDEMPTORIS)	3	
32	30*v*°–31*r*°	Et in terra	3	
33	30*v*°–32*r*°	Patrem	3	
34	32*v*°–33*r*°	Et in terra	3	
35	33*v*°–34*r*°	Patrem	3	
36	34*v*°–35*r*°	Et in terra	3	
37	35*v*°–36*r*°	Patrem	3	
		Fasc. 4		
38	36*v*°–37*r*°	Et in terra	3 (4)	
39	37*v*°–39*r*°	Patrem	3	
40	39*v*°–40*r*°	Et in terra (REX SECULORUM)	3	
41	40*v*°–42*r*°	Patrem	3	
42	42*v*°–43*r*°	Et in terra	4	
43	43*v*°–44*r*°	Et in terra	3	
44	44*v*°–45*r*°	Et in terra	3	
45	45*v*°–47*r*°	Et in terra	3	
	47*v*°–48*r*°	*Principles of solmisation and notation in Latin*		
	48*v*°	*Empty*		

Segue: TABLE 5.

COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES	REMARKS
o. Brassart	**Tr** nos 872, 1684	
inchois	= no 52; **Tr** nos 77, 877, 1689	publ. *DTO*, 61, 49
. Du Fay	**Mü O**, 34*v*°–35*r*°; **Tr** nos 869, 1383, 1681	
. Du Fay	**BL**, 15*v*°–16*r*°	
o. Brassart		
. Du Fay	= no 46; **BL**, 164*v*°–165*r*°; **Ca 6**, 2*r*°; **Ca 11**, 2*r*°; **Mü O**, 31*r*°; **Ven** 2*v*° (frag. 2 voc.)	
inchois	= no 49; **BL**, no 125; **Mü O**, 49*r*°; **Tr** nos 34, 175, 888, 1445, 1700.	publ. *DTO*, 61, 48
. Du Fay	= no 47; **BL** 8*v*°–9*r*°; **BU**, p. 9; **Ven** 1*v*°–3*r*°	facs. **BU** in *Hamb. Progr., mus. comp.*, 9*a* — from *Missa sine nomine*
Dufay)	**Mü O**, 33*v*°–34*r*°; **Tr** nos 68, 878, 1396, 1690	
o. Franchois	= no 75; **BL**, 134*v*°–135*r*°; **Mü O**, 62*v*°–63*r*°	
o. Franchois	= no 87; **BL**, 135*v*°–136*r*°; **Mü O**, 105*v*°–106*v*°; **Tr** no 1770.	
Iugo de Lantins (Dufay *in* **O**)	**BL**, 38*v*°–39*r*°; **O**, 60*v*°–61*r*°; **Tr** nos 917, 1727	publ. *DTO*, 61, 15
. Du Fay	= no 82; **BL**, 39*v*°–41*r*°; **Mü O**, 42*v*°–43*r*°; **Tr** nos 188, 946, 1762, 1777	publ. *DTO*, 61, 73
. Du Fay	= no 64: **BL**, 9*v*°–11*r*°; **Ven**, 3*v*°–5*r*: **Tr** nos 931, 1482, 1741	publ. *DTO*, 61, 71 — from *Missa sine nomine*
Duffay>	= no 92; **BL**, 11*v*°–13*r*°; **BU**, p. 32–33; **Ven**, 22*v*°–25*r*°	From *Missa sine nomine*
inchois	= no 63; **Tr** no 1432	publ. *DTO*, 61, 42
inchois		
o. Le Grant	= no 66; **BL**, 101*v*°–103*r*° (4 voc.)	
o. Le Grant	= no 93	
unstable (Leonel *in* **Tr 92**)	= no 65; **Mü O**, 121*v*°–123*r*°; **Tr** nos 901, 1397, 1711	Name half cut by binder
o. Brassart	**BL**, nos 130–132; **Mü O**, 83*v*°–84*r*°; **Tr** nos 939, 1769	
Binchois>	= no 124; **Tr** nos 18, 1386	publ. *DTO*, 61, 55 — name cut by binder
o. Brassart	**BL** *n*o 129; **Tr** nos 920, 1730.	
o. Brassart		
Binchois)	**Ca 11**, 18*v*°–20*r*°; **Tr** nos 135, 1479	publ. MARIX, 163–168

Number	Folio	Incipit	Voices	Species
				Se
		Fasc. 5		
46	49*r*°	Kyrie	3	
47	49*v*°–50*r*°	Kyrie	3	
48	50*v*°–52*r*°	Kyrie	3	
49	52*v*°–53*r*°	Kyrie (ANGELORUM)	3	
50	53*v*°–55*r*°	Kyrie	3	
51	54*v*°–55*r*°	Kyrie	+ 3	
52	55*v*°–56*r*°	Kyrie <DE MARTIRIBUS> *or* (APOSTOLORUM)	3	
53	56*v*°	Kyrie	3	
54	57*r*°	Kyrie DE BEATA MARIA (*or* DE DOMINA)	3	
55	57*v*°–58*r*°	Kyrie <quod canitur in simplici die>	3	
56	58*v*°–59*r*°	Kyrie <breve in simplici die>	3	
57	59*v*°–60*r*°	Et in terra	3	
58	60*v*°–62*v*°	Et in terra	3/4	
		Fasc. 6		
59	63*r*°–64*r*°	Et in terra	3	
60	64*v*°–65*v*°	Et in terra DE APOSTOLIS	3	
	66*r*°	*T and Ct of n*° *63*		
61	66*v*°	Et in terra	2	
	67*r*°–68*r*°	*Remainder of n*° *64*		
62	68*v*°–70*r*°	Et in terra	3	
63	70*v*°	Et in terra	3	
	71*r*°	*End of n*° *60*		
64	71*v*°	Et in terra	3	
	72*r*°	*Second voice of n*° *61.*		
65	72*v*°–74*r*°	Et in terra REX SECULORUM	3	
		Fasc. 7		
66	74*v*°–76*r*°	Et in terra	3 (4)	
67	76*v*°–77*v*°	Et in terra	3	
	78*r*°	*Empty*		
68	78*v*°–80*r*°	Et in terra	3	
69	80*v*°–82*r*°	Et in terra	3	
70	82*v*°–84*r*°	Et in terra IACET GRANUM	3	
71	84*v*°–86*r*°	Et in terra	3	

Segue: TABLE 5.

COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES	REMARKS
N 2		
ufay	= n° 26 (*q.v.*)	
uillelmus Dufay	= n° 28 (*q.v.*)	
ufay	= n° 18 (*q.v.*)	
ynchoys	= n° 27 (*q.v.*)	Name half cut off
rossim		In *Ct*: «Trompetta», hence attribution to Grossim (cf. other parts of same mass).
rossim		
Binchois>	= n° 22 (*q.v.*)	
Dufay>	= n° 19 (*q.v.*)	
Binchois)	**Tr** n° 103	publ. *DTO*, 61, 50
	Tr n°s 885, 1697	
Binchois)	**Tr** n° 106	publ. MARIX, 156–158
rossim	**BL**, 108*v*°–109*r*°; **Mü O**, 52*v*°–53*r*°	
ufay	**BL**, 33*v*°–35*r*°; **Ca 6**, 2*v*°–5*r*°; **Ca 11**, 6*v*°–8*r*°; **Mü O**, 40*v*°–44*r*°	Two *Amen*: second 4 voc.
rand Guillaume	**BL**, 56*v*°–57*r*°; **O**, 104*v*°–105*r*°; **Tr** n° 1429	publ. *PS*, 123
ufay	**BL**, 122*v*°–124*r*°	From *Missa sancti Iacobi* — double fol. 71/66 inverted by binder: 71 = 66; 66 = 71
o. <L.> Brabant		
rossim		In *Ct*: « Trompetta »
ynchoys	= n° 36 (*q.v.*)	
ufay	= n° 34 (*q.v.*)	
unstapell (Leonel *in* **Tr 92**)	= n° 40 (*q.v.*)	
o. Le Grand	= n° 38 (*q.v.*)	Name half cut off
Grossim)	**BL**, 99*v*°–100*r*°; **BU**, p. 26–27; **Tr** n° 2.	publ. *DTO*, 61,7
unstapell		Name cut off
oqueville		
	Tr n°s 21, 127, 907, 1717	

Number	Folio	Incipit	Voices	Species
		Fasc. 8		
	86*v*°–87*r*°	*Empty*		
72	87*v*°–89*r*°	Et in terra	3	
73	89*v*°–91*r*°	Et in terra	3	
74	90*v*°–92*r*°	Et in terra	3	
75	92*v*°–93*r*°	Et in terra	3	
76	93*v*°–94*r*°	Et in terra	4	
77	94*v*°–95*r*°	Et in terra	3	
78	95*v*°–96*r*°	Et in terra <quod dicitur TROMPETA>	4	
79	96*v*°–98*v*°	Et in terra	4	
		Fasc. 9		
	99*r*°	*Empty*		
80	99*v*°–102*r*°	Patrem	3	
81	102*v*°–104*r*°	Patrem	3	
82	104*v*°–106*r*°	Patrem	3	
83	106*v*°–108*r*°	Patrem	3	
84	108*v*°–111*r*°	Patrem	4	
		Fasc. 10: beginning fol. 113		
85	111*v*°–114*r*°	Patrem	3	
86	114*v*°–117*r*°	Patrem	3	
87	117*v*°–119*r*°	Patrem ALMA REDEMPTORIS	3	
88	119*v*°–122*r*°	Patrem DE APOSTOLIS	3	
89	122*v*°–124*r*°	Patrem	2	
		Fasc. 11		
90	124*v*°–126*r*°	Patrem	4	
91	126*v*°–129*r*°	Patrem	4	
92	129*v*°–132*r*°	Patrem	3	
93	132*v*°–135*r*°	Patrem	3	
		Fasc. 12: beginning fol. 135.		
94	135*v*°–138*r*°	Patrem	3	
95	138*v*°–140*r*°	Patrem	3	
96	140*v*°–143*r*°	Patrem	3	
97	142*v*°–144*r*°	Patrem	3	
	144*v*°–145*r*°	*Empty*		
98	145*v*°–146*v*°	Sanctus	3	

Segue: TABLE 5

COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES	REMARKS
o. Berken›		Name cut off by binder
. Franchoys	**BL**, 114*v*°–115*r*°; **O**, 57*v*°–58*r*°	publ. *PS*, 93
. Franchoys	= n° 30 (*q.v.*)	Name half cut off
oqueville)	**BL**, 76*v*°–77*r*° (3 voc.); **O**, 68*v*° (3 voc).	publ. *PS*, 134
ıfay	**BL**, 164*v*°–165*r*°	
Du y	**BL**, 157*v*°–158*r*°; **Tr** n°s 911, 1721	Canon half cut off—publ. *DTO*, 7, 145 (*Gloria ad modum tube*)
Dufay›	**BL**, n°s 138–139; **Ca 6**, 10*v*°–13*r*°; **Ca 11**, 11*v*°–13*r*°; **Tr** n°s 8, 1375	
‘and Guillaume		
ıfay	**BL**, 165*v*°–166*r*°	
ıfay	= n° 33 (*q. v.*)	
ossim	**Tr** n° 139	publ. *DTO*, 61, 9
ufay›	**BL** n°s 140–142; **Ca 6**, 13*v*°–17*r*°; **Ca 11**, 27*v*°–31*r*°; **Tr** n°s 9, 942, 1377, 1773	*Ct*: « Et in terra pax »
ossim		In *Ct*: « Trompette »
ohannis Franchois›	**BL**, 115*v*°–117*r*°; **Ca 6**, 33*v*°–36*r*°; **Ca 11**, 38*v*°–41*v*°; **O**, 74*v*°–75*v*°; **Mü O**, 153*v*°–155*r*°	publ. *PS*, 99
o. Franchois›	= n° 31 (*q.v.*)	Entire text of antiphon under *T*
ıfay ambertus Brabant›	**BL**, 125*v*°–127*r*°; **Tr** n°s 136, 1474	publ. *DTO*, 61, 76 — from *Missa sancti Iacobi*
oqueville	**BL**, 77*v*°–78*r*° (3 voc.); **Tr** n°s 951, 1782 (3 voc.)	
ıfay	**BL**, 35*v*°–38*r*°; **BU**, p. 52–55; **Ca 6**, 5*v*°–10*r*°; **Ca 11**, 23*r*–27*r*°	
ıfay	= *n*° 35 (*q.v.*)	Name almost cut off—fol. 130 skipped
. Le Grant	= n° 39 (*q.v.*)	
ınstapell nglicanus) *me cut off by binder*	**Tr** n°s 1460, 1553	
De Anglia›	**Tr** n°s 948, 1779	
. Dunstapell	**Tr** n° 122	publ. *DTO*, 61, 111

Number	Folio	Incipit	Voices	Species
		Fasc. 13		
99	147*r*°–148*r*°	Sanctus	3	
100	148*v*°–149*r*°	Sanctus	3	
101	149*v*°–150*r*°	Sanctus DE APOSTOLIS	4	
102	150*v*°–151*r*°	Sanctus	3	
103	151*v*°–152*r*°	Sanctus	3	
104	152*v*°–154*r*°	Sanctus ANGLICUS	3	
105	153*v*°–154*r*°	Sanctus *Tr* Qui ianuas mortis confregisti	1	
106	154*v*°–155*r*°	Agnus dei DE APOSTOLIS	4	
107	155*v*°–156*r*°	Agnus dei	3	
108	156*v*°–157*r*°	Agnus dei *Tr* Pro salute hominum	3	
109	157*v*°–158*r*°	Agnus dei	4	
110	158*v*°	Sancta Maria intercede pro toto mundo	3	Mo
		Fasc. 14		
111	159*r*°	*Sanctus Tr Gustasti necis pocula*	(3)	
112	159*v*°	Sanctus	3	
113	160*r*°	Agnus dei	3	
114	160*v*°–161*r*°	Sanctus	3	
115	161*v*°	Agnus dei	3	
116	162*r*°	Agnus dei	3	
117	162*v*°–163*r*°	Et in terra	3	
118	163*v*°–165*r*°	Patrem	3	
119	165*v*°–166*r*°	Asperges me	3	A
120	166*v*°–167*r*°	Domitor Hectoris Paride domitus	3	Mo
121	167*v*°–168*r*°	Beata dei genitrix Maria	3	A
122	168*v*°–169*r*°	Veneremur virginem // per cuius	3	Mo
123	169*v*°–171*r*°	O Maria virgo davitica	4	Mo Is
		Fasc. 15: beginning fol. 171		
124	171*v*°–173*r*°	Et in terra	4	
125	173*v*°–176*r*°	Patrem	4	
126	176*v*°–179*r*°	Patrem (ANGLICANUM)	3	
127	179*v*°–180*r*°	Sanctus	3	
128	180*v*°	Agnus dei	3	
129	181*r*°	Agnus dei	3	
130	181*v*°–182*r*°	Sanctus	3	
131	182*v*°	Agnus dei	3	

Segue: TABLE 5

COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES	REMARKS
nchoys		
ɔssim		In *Ct*: « Trompetta »
Du [illegible] y	**BL**, 128*v*°–129*r*°	From *Missa sancti Iacobi*
ɔssim		
illelmus Dufay	**BL**, 13*v*°–14*r*°; **Ven**, 9*v*°–11*r*°	From *Missa sine nomine*
nstapell		
ieux	**Tourn 471**, 18*v*°–19*v*°	Trope in **Tourn**: *Qui vertice Thabor affuisti*
fay	**BL**, 129*v*°–130*r*°	From *Missa sancti Iacobi*
fay	**BL**, 14*v*°–15*r*°; **Ven**, 11*v*°–12*r*°	From *Missa sine nomine*
ɔssim		
ɔssim		
3		
veitzl)	**Mü O**, 70*v*°–71*r*° (2 voc.)	Frag. of *T* & *Ct* only, from *Benedictus* on
inchois>	**Tr** n° 1436 (2 voc.)	publ. MARIX, 182
inchois>	**Tr** n° 1455	publ. *DTO*, 61, 50
nchoys	**Tr** n° 1399	publ. *DTO*, 61, 51
ıchoys	**Tr** n° 1400	publ. *DTO*, 61, 53
de Clibano	**Tr** n° 1827	**Tr** divergent in 2nd half
<Johannes> de Cliba- ıo (Binchois *in* **Tr 92**)	**Tr** n° 1392	publ. *DTO*, 61, 46
nchoys	**Tr** nos 99, 785, 1589	Name half cut off
nchoys		Holy Cross
nchois (Dunstable in **Mod B**, **Mü O**)	**BL**, 282*v*°–283*r*°; **Mü O**, 7*v*°–8*v*°; **Mod B**, 133*v*°–134*r*°; **Tr** n° 1048	publ. *DTO* 76, 61 — name half cut off
inchois>		Name cut off
nchoys	= n° 42 (*q.v.*)	
nchoys	**Ca 11**, 42*r*°–45*v*°; **Tr** nos 19, 1388	publ. *DTO*, 61, 58
glicus <De Anglia>	**BL**, 159*v*°–161*r*°	
nchois)	**Tr** nos 978, 1442, 1809	publ. *DTO*, 61, 53
nchoys	**Tr** nos 979, 1810	publ. *DTO*, 61, 55
nchoys	**Tr** n° 1390	
nchois>	**Tr** nos 224, 1369, 1447, 1547	publ. MARIX, 183–184

Number	Folio	Incipit	Voices	Species
		Fasc. 16		
132	183*r*°	Sanctus	(3 ?)	
133	183*v*°–184*r*°	Magnificat	3	
134	184*v*°–185*r*°	Magnificat octavi toni	3	
135	185*v*°–186*r*°	*Veni sancte spiritus* — Vere digna laudibus — Veni pater pauperum	3	S
136	186*v*°–187*r*°	Cuius fructus ventris Ihesus / Te Maria rogitassem	4	Mo Is
137	187*v*°–188*r*°	Alma redemptoris mater	3	A
138	188*v*°–189*r*°	Quam pulcra es et quam decora	3	Mo
139	189*v*°	Crucifixum in carne	2	A
140	190*r*°	Veni creator spiritus — Tu septiformis munere	3	H
141	190*r*°	A solis ortus cardine	3	H
142	190*v*°–191*r*°	Lumen ad revelationem gentium *with* Nunc dimittis *in extenso*	3	A
143	191*v*°–193*r*°	Regina celi letare	3	A
144	193*v*°–194*r*°	Descendi in ortum meum	3	A
		Fasc. 17		
145	194*v*°–195*r*°	Sanctus	3	
146	195*v*°–196*r*°	Ave regina celorum	4	A
147	196*v*°–197*r*°	Alma redemptoris mater	3	A
148	197*v*°–198*r*°	Sancta Maria succurre miseris	3	A
149	198*v*°–201*r*°	Et in terra *Tr* Spiritus et alme orphanorum	3	
150	201*v*°–202*v*°	Et in terra	4	
151	203*r*°	Agnus dei	3	
152	203*v*°–206*r*°	Salve regina *Tr* Virgo mater ecclesie	3	A
153	206*v*°	Veni dilecte mi apprehendam	3	Mo
		Fasc. 18		
154	207*r*°–208*r*°	Agnus dei	3	
155	208*v*°–210*r*°	Et in terra	3	
156	210*v*°–212*r*°	Et in terra	3	

Segue: TABLE 5

COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES	REMARKS
		T & *Ct* only, cancelled
	BL, nº 326; **Mü O**, 88*v*º–89*r*º	Texts superposed
	BL, 235*v*º–236*r*º	
Leonel *in* **BL**, Dunstable *in* **Mod**)	**BL**, nº 226; **Mod B**, 134*v*º–135*r*º	publ. *DTO*, 76, 51
Dunstapell	**BL**, 284*v*º–285*r*º; **BU**, p. 84–85; **Mü O**, 63*v*º–64*r*º; **Mod B**, 81*v*º–82*r*º; **Pemb**, IV*r*º; **Tr** nº 1465	publ. *DTO*, 7, 190 — name cut off
		Texts superposed — cf. hymn of Binchois
Binchois)	**Tr** nº 1503 **CS 46**, 59*v*º–63*r*º	publ. MARIX 188
Dunstable)	**BL**, 276*v*º-277*r*º; **FM1**, 44*v*º-47*r*º; **Mü L**, 42*v*º	Name cut off — publ. *DTO*, 76, 49.
Bennet> (Dumstabl *in* **Tr 90**)	**Tr** nºs 78, 971, 1802	publ. *DTO*, 61, 123
Leonel)	**BL**, 277*v*º–278*r*º; **Tr** nºs 1491, 1525	publ. *DTO*, 7, 210
	BL, 186*v*º (frag.); **Tr** nº 1052	
Dunstable)	**Mod B**, 136*v*º (frag.) **Tr** nºs 104, 1051, 1502	publ. *DTO*, 76, 63
Dunstable)	**Tr** nº 1426	publ. *DTO*, 61, 108 « Fuga iiii temporum »
Leonel *in* **Mod B**, Dunstable *in* **Tr**)	**Mod B**, 86*v*º–88*r*º; **Tr** nºs 1081, 1577	
Dufay (Lymburgia *in* **BL**)	**BL** 275*v*º–276*r*º; **Tr** nº 100	
Bennet>	**Tr** nºs 80, 972, 1803	publ. *DTO*, 61,125; BESSELER, *MMA*, 202 (frag.) Attributed to Dunstable by BUKOFZER, *AM*, 8, 116.
Bonnet	**Ca 11**, 20*v*º–22*r*º; **Tr** nºs 905, 1715	publ. *DTO* 61, 119; attributed to Dunstable by BUKOFZER, *AM*, 8, 116
Leonel)	**Mü O**, 111*v*º–113*r*º; **Tr** nº 1403	publ. *DTO*, 61, 104

Number	Folio	Incipit	Voices	Species
157	212v^{o}–214r^{o}	Alma redemptoris mater	3	A
158	214v^{o}–216r^{o}	Sanctus IACET GRANUM	3	
159	216v^{o}–217r^{o}	Agnus dei	3	
160	217v^{o}–218v^{o}	Sub tuam protectionem confugimus	3	Mo
		Fasc. 19		
161	219r^{o}	A solis ortus cardine (= Hostis Herodis impie)	3	H
162	219v^{o}–221r^{o}	Et in terra ALMA (REDEMPTORIS)	3	
163	221v^{o}–223r^{o}	Patrem AL(MA REDEMPTORIS)	3	
164	223v^{o}–225r^{o}	Sanctus AL(MA REDEMPTORIS)	3	
165	224v^{o}–226r^{o}	Agnus dei ALMA REDEMPTORIS	3	
166	226v^{o}–228r^{o}	Patrem DA GAUDIORUM PREMIA	3	
167	228v^{o}–230r^{o}	Sanctus DA GAUDIORUM PREMIA	3	
		Fasc. 20		
168	230v^{o}–231r^{o}	Magnificat <de octavo tono>	2	
169	231v^{o}–233r^{o}	Et in terra	3	
170	233v^{o}–234r^{o}	Patrem	3	
171	234v^{o}–236r^{o}	Et in terra	4	
172	236v^{o}–238r^{o}	Patrem	4	
173	238v^{o}–240r^{o}	Patrem	3	
174	240v^{o}–242r^{o}	Patrem	3	
175	242v^{o}–244r^{o}	Et in terra	3	
		Fasc. 21.		
	244v^{o}–245r^{o}	*Brief principles of music in Latin*		
176	245v^{o}–246r^{o}	Agnus dei	3	
177	246v^{o}–248r^{o}	Et in terra	3	
178	248v^{o}–250r^{o}	Sanctus	3	
179	250v^{o}–252r^{o}	Sanctus	3	
180	251v^{o}–253r^{o}	Sanctus	3	
181	253v^{o}–254r^{o}	Agnus dei	3	
	254r^{o}	*Scale of mutations in black notes, with superscription:* Est libri Vrsi Donzellizur possidet hunc libellum (?)		
182	254v^{o}–256r^{o}	Sanctus	3	
	256r^{o}	*Eight rules governing notation in Latin*		
183	256v^{o}–257r^{o}	Sanctus	3	
184	257v^{o}–258r^{o}	Sanctus	3	

Segue: TABLE 5

COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES	REMARKS
eonelle (Dunstable in **Mod B**)	**Mod B**, 100*r*°–101*r*°; **Tr** n° 1524	publ. *DTO*, 53, 33
	Tr n°s 982, 1379, 1814	
Dunstable)	**BL**, 283*v*°–284*r*°; **Mod B**, 115*v*°–116*r*°; **Tr** n° 1463	publ. *DTO*, 7, 198; RIEMANN, *Komp.*, 126.
Dufay)	**BL**, 288*r*°; **Mod B**, 3*v*°–4*r*°; **Tr** n° 1583; **CS 15**, 9*v*°–10*r*°: *all with text* Hostis	publ. *DTO*, 7, 162
eonell	**Tr** n°s 3, 902, 1712	
Leonel›	**Tr** n° 4	
eonel	**Tr** n° 5	
eonel	**Tr** n° 6	
unstapell		
Dunstable		
eonell		Isorythmic *T* with red notes
unstapell		T = first two incises of Vat. Credo I, repeated four times
	Tr n° 20	
lome		
Name cut off		
ovesby		
elbeland		
	Tr n° 79	

Number	Folio	Incipit	Voices	Species
		Fasc. 22		
185	258*v*°–259*v*°	Christi nutu sublimato	4	Mo
186	260*r*°–261*r*°	Lamberte vir inclite	4	Mo
187	261*v*°–262*r*°	Ave vivens hostia	3	Mo
188	262*v*°–264*r*°	O rex Fridrice tu pulcre pacis amice *T*: In tuo adventu erue nos domine	4	Mo Is
	263*v*°–266*r*°	*Various rules of notation in Latin*		
		Fasc. 23		
	266*v*°–267*r*°	*Empty*		
189	267*v*°–268*r*°	Romanorum rex inclite *T*: Requiem	4	Mo Is
190	268*v*°–269*r*°	Et in terra	3	
191	269*v*°–271*r*°	Patrem	3	
192	271*v*°–272*r*°	Nesciens mater virgo virum	3	Mo
193	272*v*°–273*r*°	Castrum pudicitie Virgo viget melius *T*: Benedicamus domino	3	Mo
		Fasc. 24		
	273*v*°–274*r*°	*Empty*		
194	274*v*°–275*r*°	Veni sancte spiritus Veni creator spiritus *T*: Mentes tuorum visita	4	Mo Is
	275*v*°–276*r*°	*Empty*		
	276*v*°–277*r*°	*Second part of No. 194*		
195	277*v*°–278*r*°	Et in terra	3	
196	278*v*°–279*r*°	Beata mater et innupta virgo	3	Mo
	279*v*°–280*r*°	*Empty*		
		Fasc. 25		
197	280*v*°–281*v*°	Christi nutu sublimato	4	Mo

Segue: TABLE 5

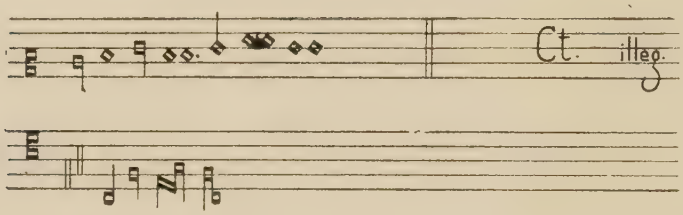
COMPOSER	CONCORDANCES	REMARKS
4		
Brassart>	= nº 197; **Mü O**, 116*v*º–117*v*º; **Tr** nº 48	S. Lambert — unfinished — publ. *DTO*, 76, 70
	Tr nº 47	Beginning of *C I & T* lacking — publ. *DTO*, 76, 66
). Brassart		Accession of Emperor Frederick III (February 1440) — canonic *T* — name half cut off
assart ?		Death of Emperor Albert (November 1439) — canonic *T* — name cut off
		Name cut off
		Name cut off
Ierques)	**Tr** nº 1539	B.V.M. – publ. *DTO*, 76, 84
). Dunstapell	**OH**, 55*v*º–56*r*º; **Mod B**, 106*v*º–108*r*º; **Tr** nº 1537; **Mü L**, 32*v*º	publ. *DTO*, 7, 203
Dunstable *in* **BU**, Leonel *in* **Tr 92**)	**BU**, p. 24–25; **Tr** nºs 919, 1370, 1729	
Dunstable in **Mü O**, **Mod B**; *cancelled in* **Tr 87** *by* Binchois)	**OS**, 6*v*º; **Mü O**, 8*v*º–9*r*º; **Mod B**, 91*r*º, **Tr** nº 131	publ. *DTO*, 7, 94.
assart	= nº 185 (*q.v.*)	

APPENDIX I

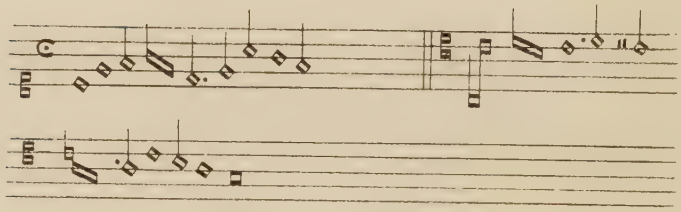
The following thematic catalogue is limited to those numbers of **Ao** which I have not been able to find in other manuscripts. It has appeared superfluous to publish the musical incipit of works already well known, but it is my hope that the dissemination of these *unica* will lead to identifications which have escaped my notice. As in the preceding tables of this report, I have deemed it preferable to classify these musical incipits according to the species distinguished above. In the case of three-voice compositions, the **T** occupies the last place; in four voice works, the **T** is the third incipit noted.

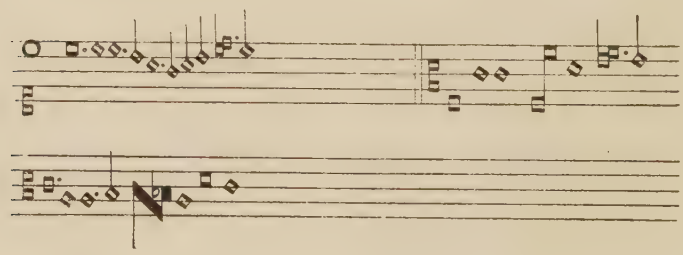
KYRIE

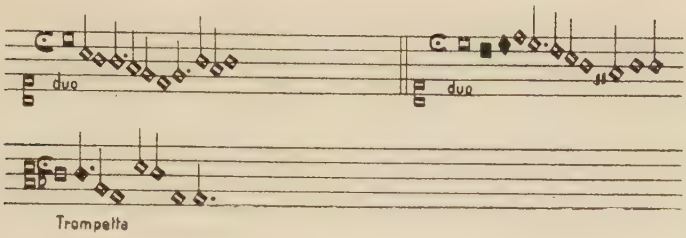
6. 11*v*°–12*r*°



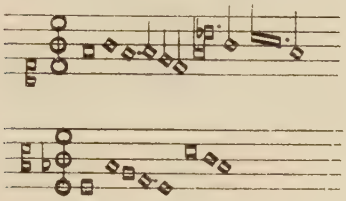
7. 12*v*°



25. 24*v*° – BRASSART

50. 53v^{o}–55r^{o} – *Grossim*

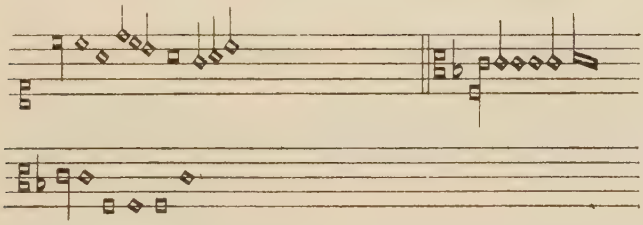


51. 54v^{o}–55r^{o} – GROSSIM

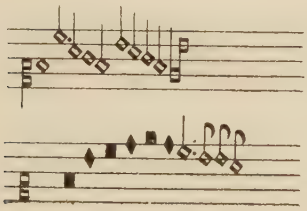


GLORIA

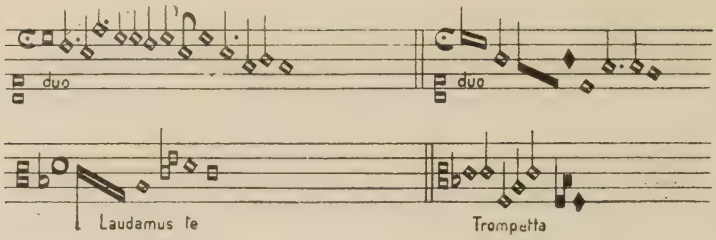
44. 44v^{o}–45r^{o} – BRASSART



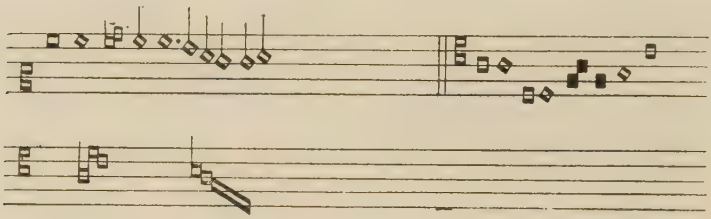
61. 66v^{o}–72r^{o} – BRABANT



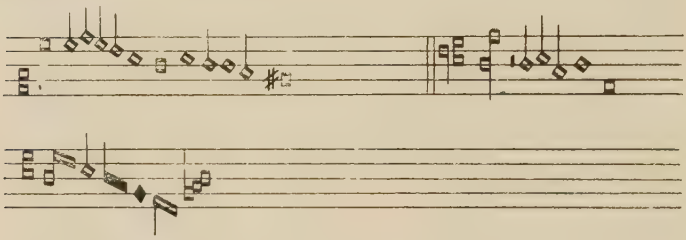
62. 68v°–70r° – GROSSIM



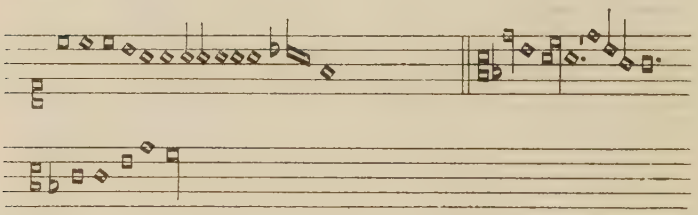
68. 78v°–80r° – DUNSTAPELL



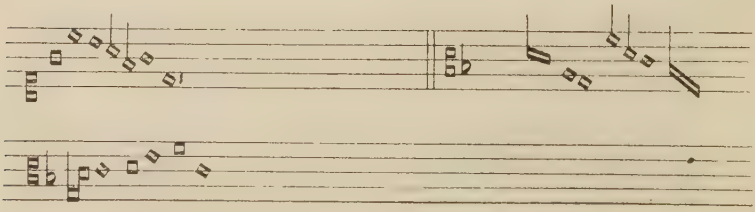
69. 80v°–82r° – LOQUEVILLE



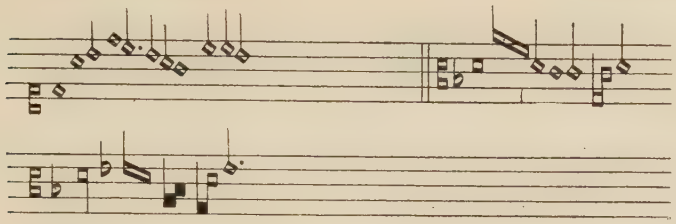
71. 84v°–86r°



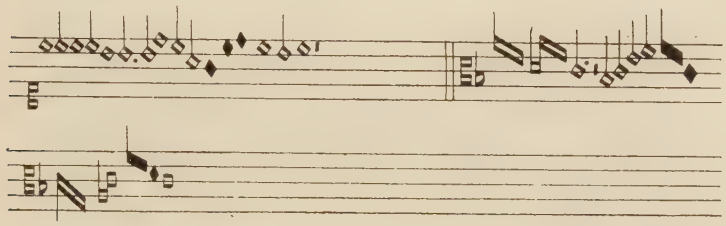
72. 87v°–89r°



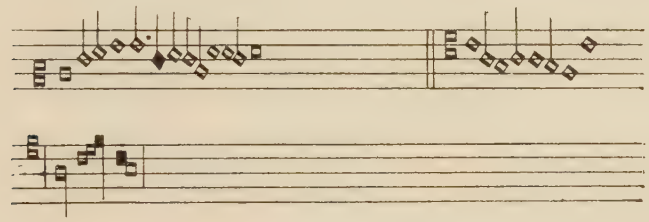
73. 89*v*°–91*r*° – BERKEN



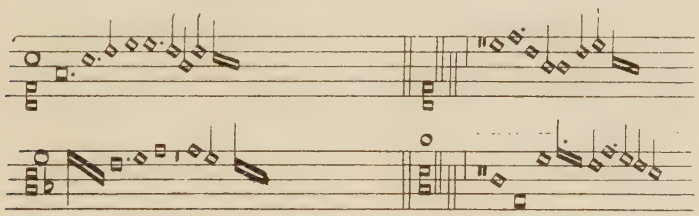
150. 201*v*°–202*v*°



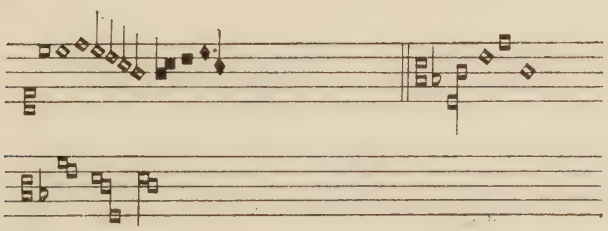
169. 231*v*°–233*r*° – LEONELL



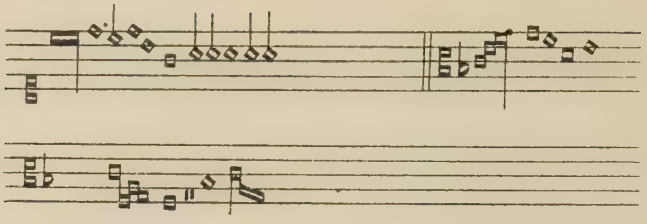
171. 234*v*°–236*r*° – DUNSTAPELL



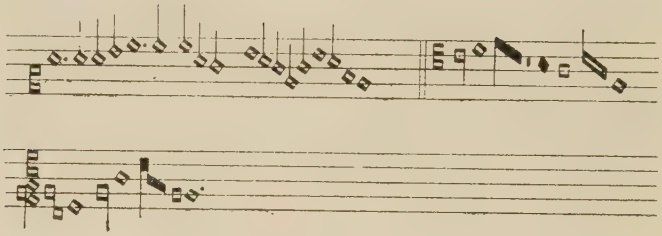
175. 242*v*°–244*r*°



177. 246v^{o}–248r^{o}

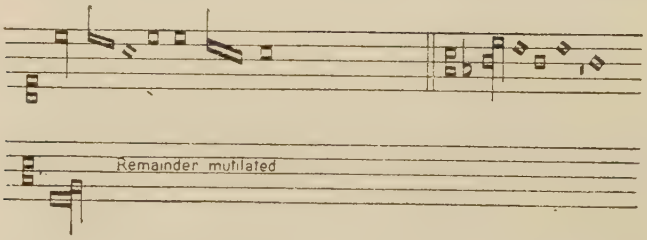


190. 268v^{o}–269r^{o}

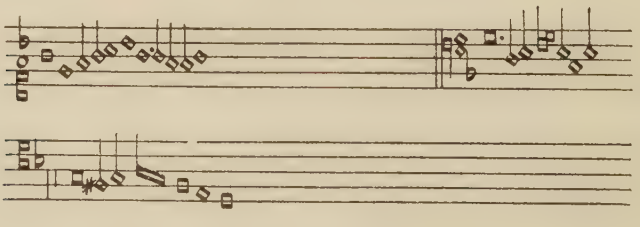


CREDO

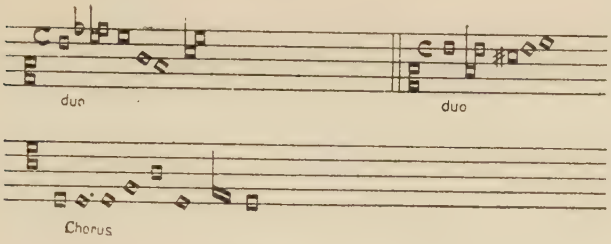
37. 35v^{o}–36r^{o} – Binchois



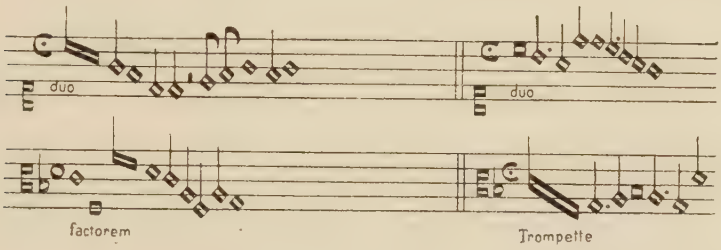
39/93. 37v^{o}–39r^{o}/132v^{o}–135r^{o} – Le Grant



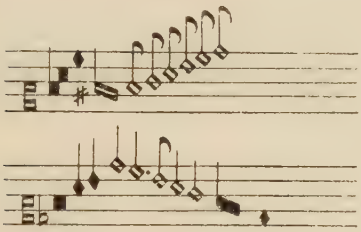
80. 99*v*°–102*r*° – GRAND GUILLAUME



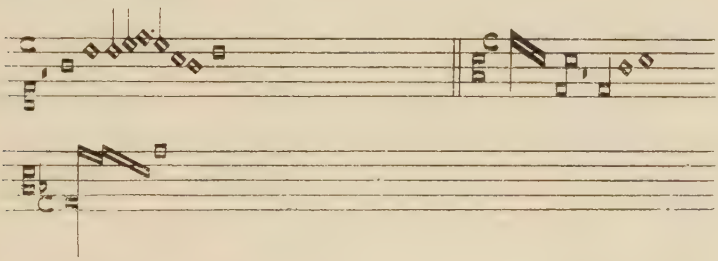
85. 111*v*°–114*r*° – GROSSIM



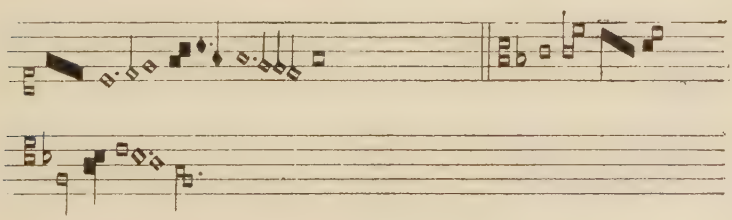
89. 122*v*°–124*r*° – BRABANT



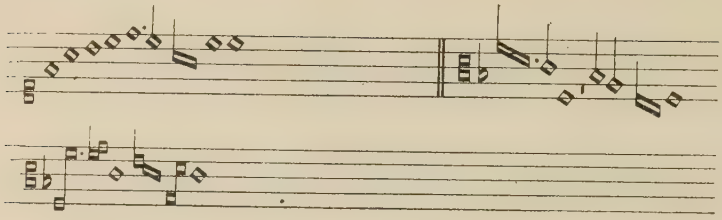
94. 135*v*°–138*r*° – DUNSTAPELL



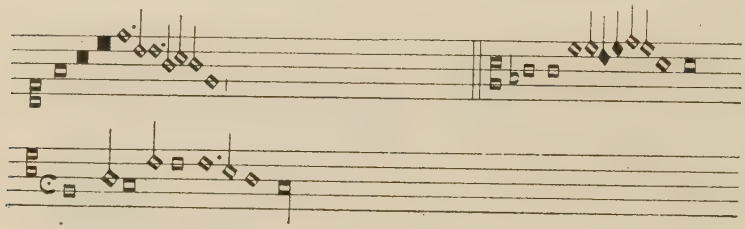
96. 140*v*°–143*r*°



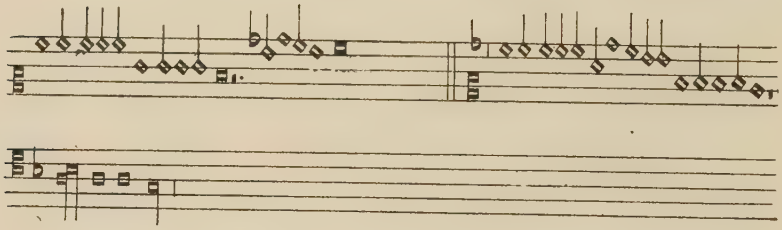
118. 163*v*°–165*r*°

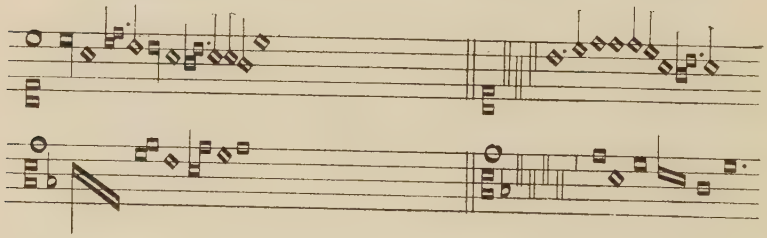


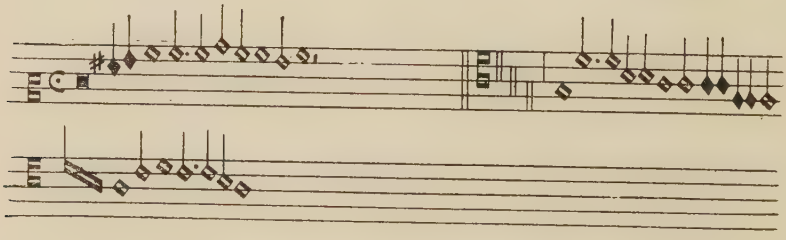
166. 226*v*°–228*r*° – DUNSTAPELL



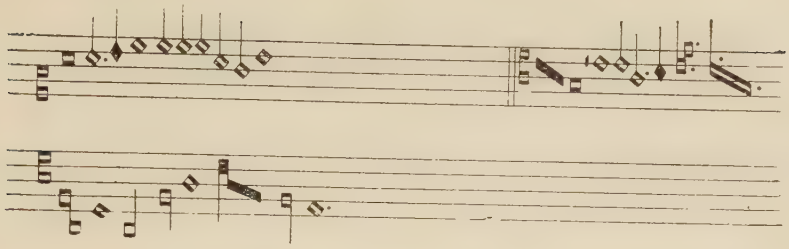
170. 233*v*°–234*r*°



172. 236*v*°–238*r*°

173. 238*v*°–240*r*°

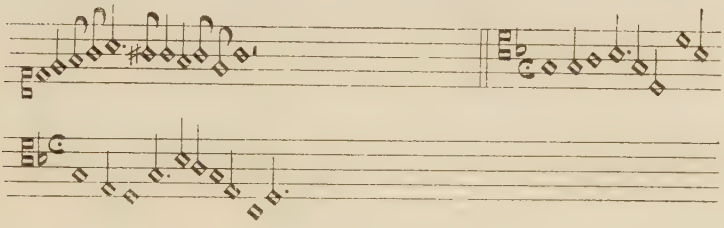


191. 269*v*°–271*r*°

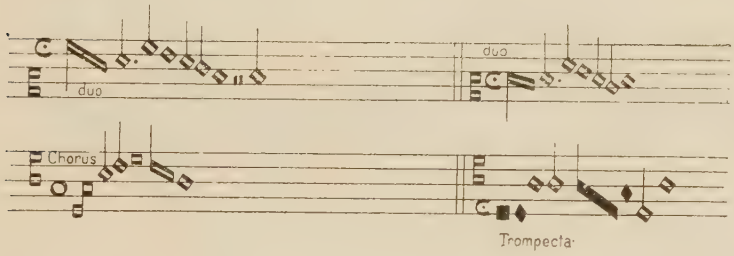


SANCTUS

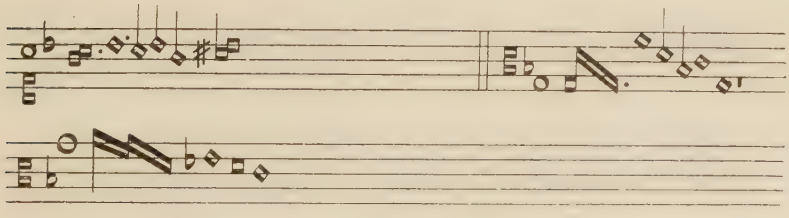
99. 147*r*°–148*r*° – BYNCHOYS



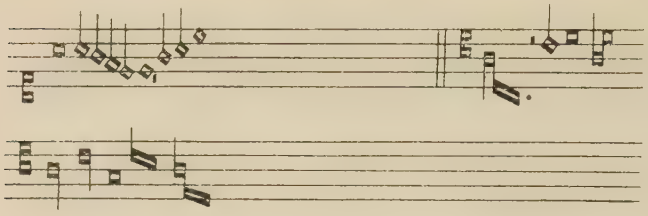
100. 148*v*°–149*r*° – GROSSIM



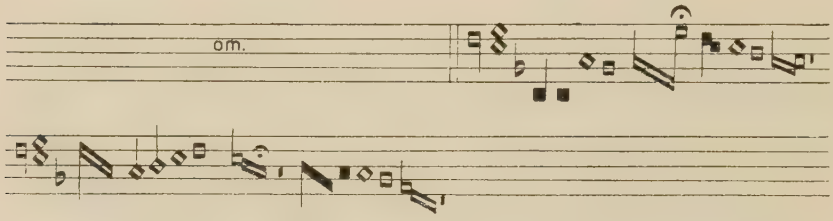
102. 150*v*°–151*r*° – GROSSIM



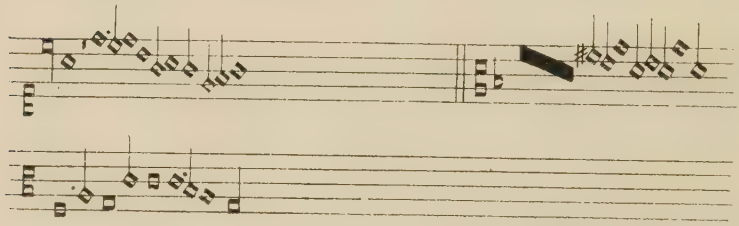
104. 152*v*°–154*r*° – DUNSTAPELL



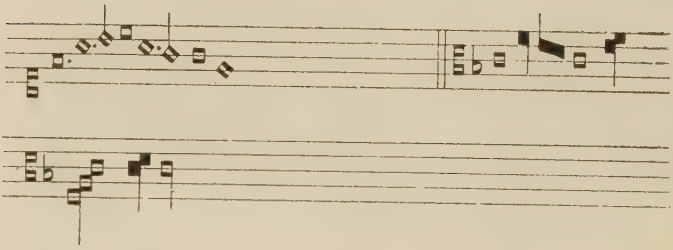
132. 183*r*°



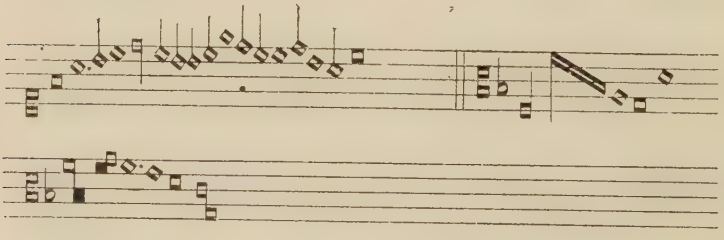
167. 228*v*°–230*r*° – DUNSTABLE



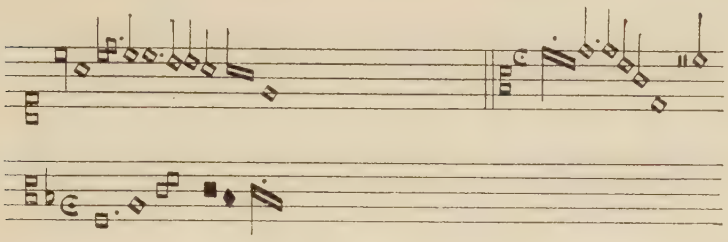
178. 248*v*°–250*r*° – BLOME



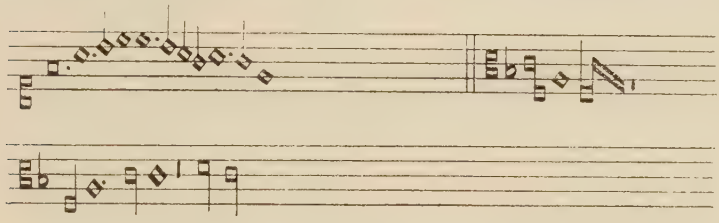
179. 250*v*°–252*r*°.



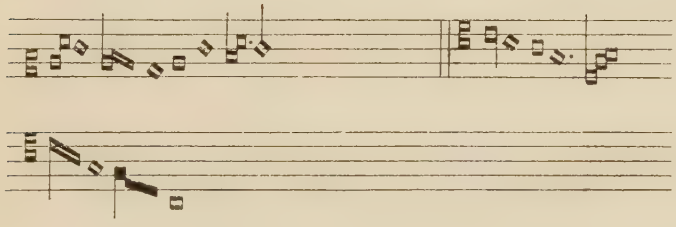
180. 251*v*°–253*r*° – SOVESBY



182. 254*v*–256*r*° – NELBELAND

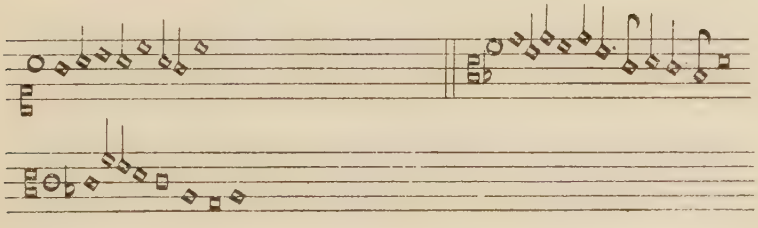


183. 256*v*°–257*r*°

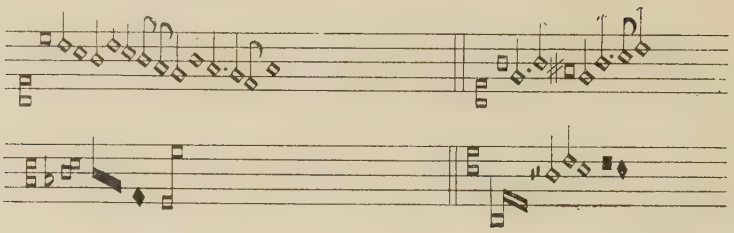


AGNUS

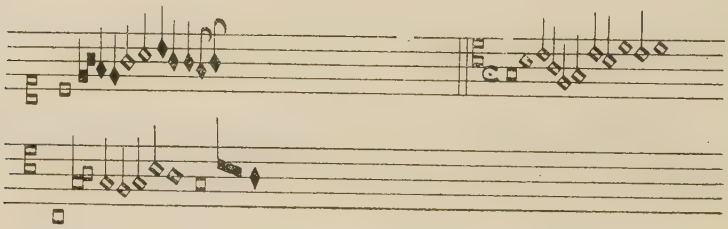
108. 156*v*°–157*r*° – GROSSIM



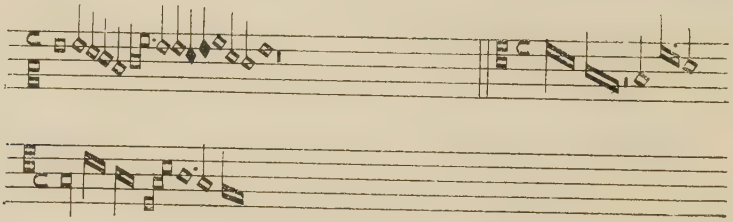
109. 157*v*°–158*r*° – GROSSIM



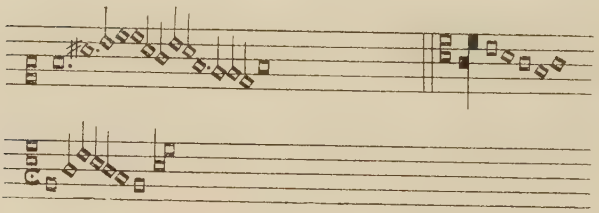
129. 181*r*°



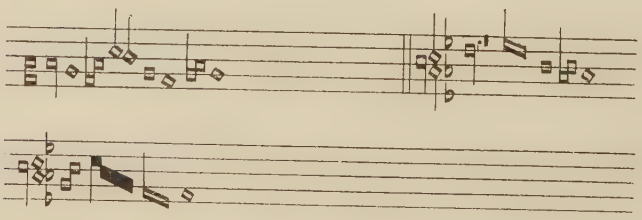
151. 203*r*°



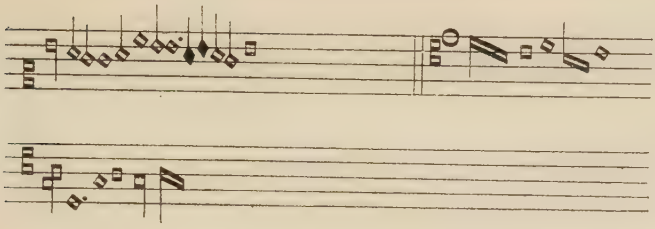
159. 216*v*°–217*r*°



176. 245*v*°–246*r*°

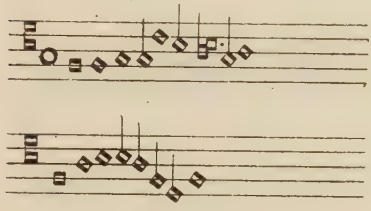


181. 253*v*°–254*r*°

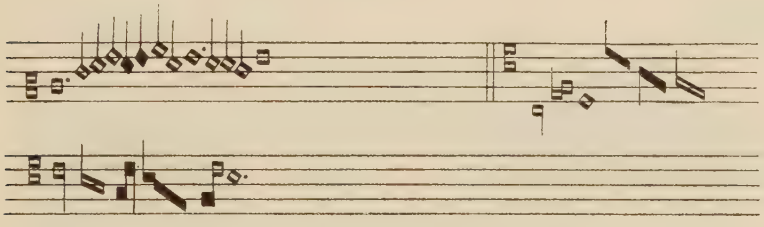


ANTIPHONS

139. 189*v*° Crucifixum in carne

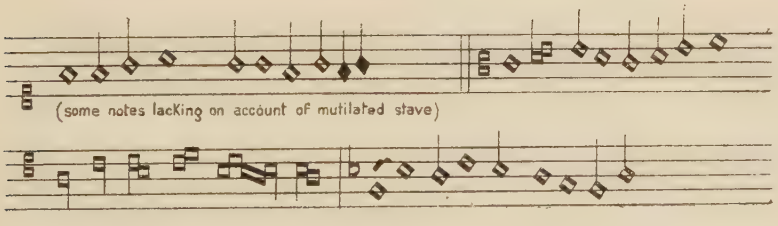


144. 193*v*°–194*r*° Descendi in ortum meum

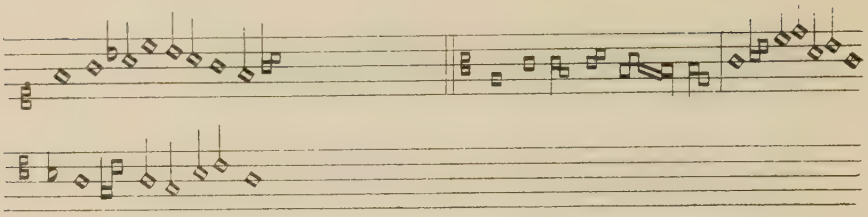


COMMUNIONS

4. 10*r*° Beata viscera Marie virginis

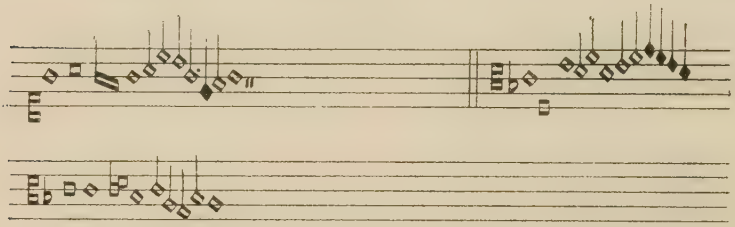


5. 107v° LEONELL. Beata viscera Marie virginis

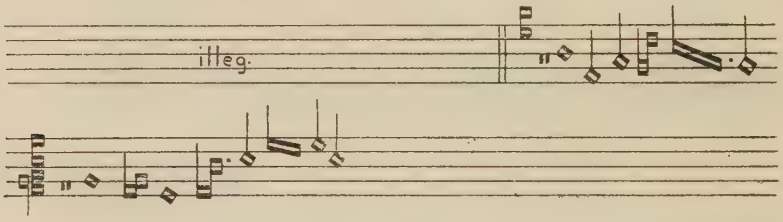


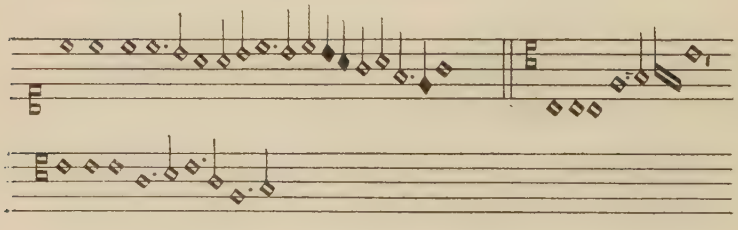
HYMNS

140. 190r° Veni creator spiritus

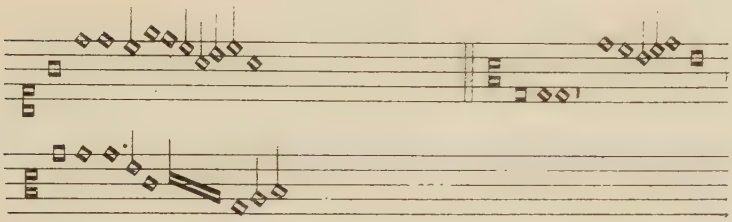


INTROITS

12. 15r° – BRASSART. De ventre matris mee

13. 15v° – SARTO. Repleatur os meum

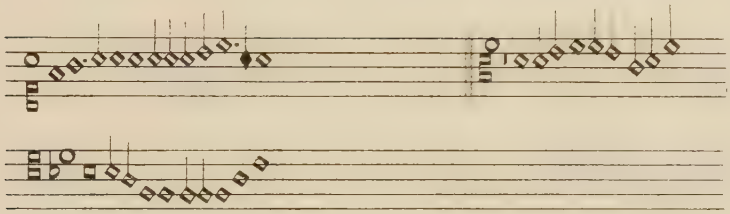


17. 17v^{o} – Puer natus est nobis

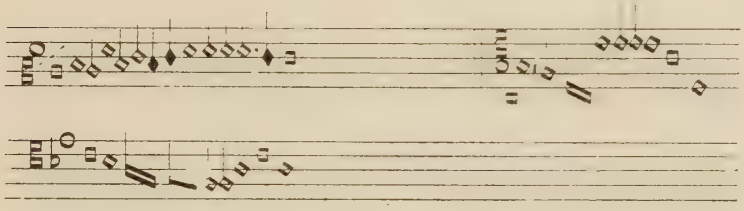


MAGNIFICAT

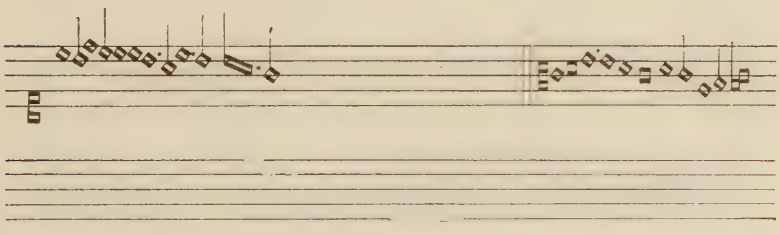
133. 183v^{o}–184r^{o}



134. 184v^{o}–185r^{o}

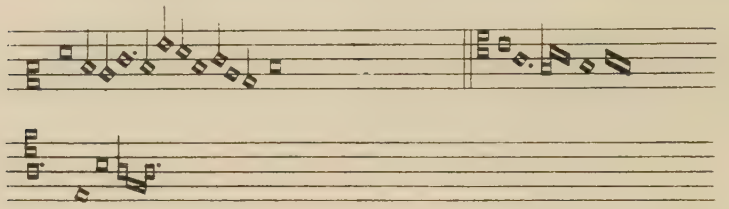


168. 230v^{o}-231r^{o}

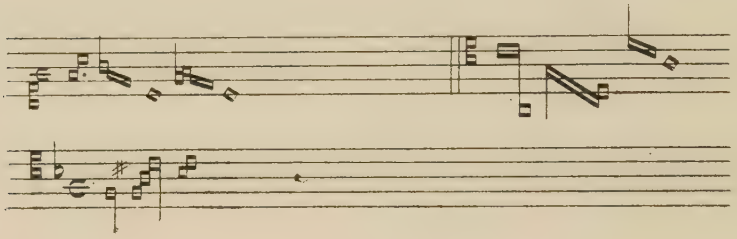


MOTETS (non-isorhythmic)

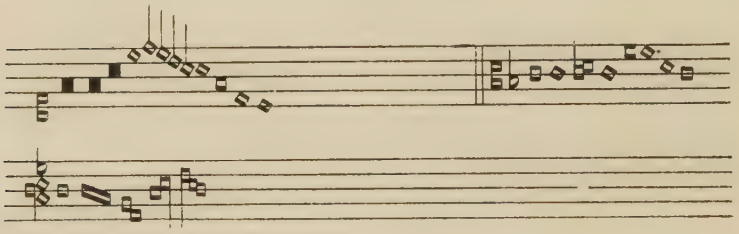
110. 158*v*° Sancta Maria intercede pro toto mundo



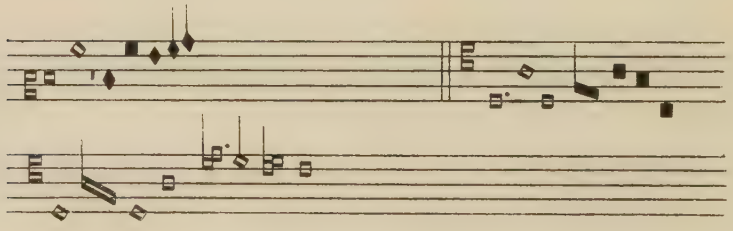
120. 166*v*°–167*r*° – BYNCHOYS. Domitor Hectoris Paride domitus



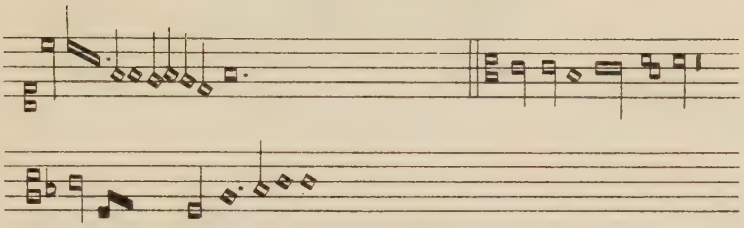
122. 168*v*°–169*r*° – BINCHOIS. Veneremur virginem



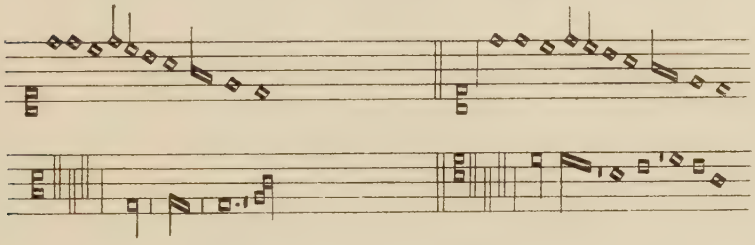
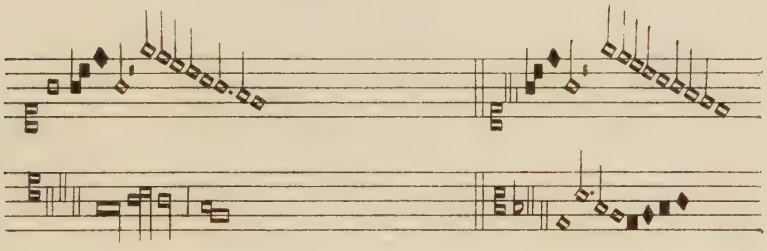
187. 261*v*°–262*r*° – Ave vivens hostia

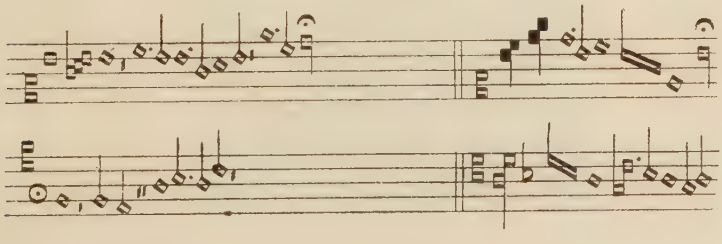


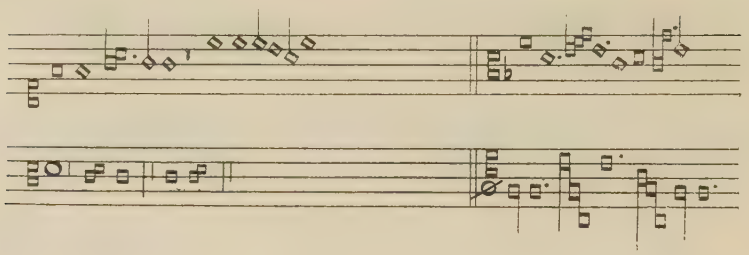
192. 271*v*°–272*r*° – Nesciens mater virgo



MOTETS (isorhythmic)

1. 4*v*°–7*r*° – NICOLAUS *Zacharias.* } Argi vices Poliphemus
Com Pilemon rebus paucis

123. 169*v*°–171*r*° – O Maria virgo davitica

188. 262*v*°–264*r*° – BRASSART. } O rex Fridrice
T: In tuo adventu



189. $267v^{o}$–$268r^{o}$ – *Brassart* (?) } Romanorum rex inclite
T: Requiem

APPENDIX 2

The five texts which are published below for the first time, to my knowledge, are the only ones which can offer an interest in themselves, divorced from their polyphonic setting. Four of them celebrate men of primary historical importance; the fifth poem, in honour of the Holy Cross, is a curious example of the infiltration of classical mythology in religious verse, a forerunner of those astounding hymns which were considered worthy of the Breviary in the early 16th century, although they invoked the entire hierarchy of pagan Olympian heaven. I have long hesitated to publish the texts in honour of John XXIII, because they are in so many places hopelessly corrupt, and my first attempts to reconstitute the original wording, and to give a meaning to this nonsense has not been crowned with much success. Nevertheless, I am certain that even in this mutilated form, they will be of interest to scholars, and I earnestly hope that someone may be inspired to restore those verses which are so manifestly erroneous. I shall here refrain from any commentary of these texts, for I intend to publish the music they accompany, and I shall reserve what explanation I can afford for a later study.

1 a

N° 1. $4v^{o}$–$7r^{o}$ – *Triplum*

Argi vices Poliphemus
Lucilippus veli Remus
fraternali iussu tractus
aggrediar uut coactus.

Manu fortis David preest,
ursi victor ac leonis,
pastor gregis cui nec deest
usus fundi vel mucronis:

ad utrumque manum mittens,
regnis, templis providendo,
hec pro illis non omittens,
monarchisat in regendo.

Nam Iohannes, quo gracia
nutu divino dicitur
vicesimus ternus, pia
per quam fides extollitur.

Florum chorus hostes mutent,
Hester datur Assuero
ut plus eam non confutent
Naman cetu cum severo,

cum tam potens, tam arduus,
tam illustris prosapie,
legislator mellifluus,
flos legalis pericie,

eam cepit liberare
ex captivis iam reginam
dans emulis imperare
unditatem (?) vespertinam
novo fetu propagare.
Quis dubium hanc divinam

extitisse sanctionem
ut vidua convalescat
et sterilis nacionem
nacta grandem adolescat ?

Sic zelotes Mathathias
consternatos animavit
et conservans . . . dyas
Allobrogas exstirpavit.

Ac hodie sol mundanus
polo celsior artico
nubes frangit, ut Urbanus,
dono tutus palladico.

Hic est puer nuper natus,
puritate vir effectu,
de quo sermo stat prolatus,
angelico sub adiectu.

Nomen eius est Johannes,
et in ortu suo multi
per urbes ac mediannes,
iocabuntur risu fulti.

Hic lucerna seu fax ignis
ad sagittam signum missum,
caput orbis, lux insignis,
cui seculum stat commissum,

ut cum grege perfidelis
receptetur dux in celis.

50 fulti: fultu *ms.*

1 b

Motetus

Cum Pilemon rebus paucis
diis placuit atque Baucis,
quicquid potest, supplex profert,
non arrogat, sed cor offert.

Armonie musicali
nubat scema rethoricum;
ut *trami*tu liberali
melos strepat autenticum.

Ecclesia militaris
hylarescat in habitu,
status orbis singularis
iocundetur in ambitu:

pacis pater ac patronus,
rector potens nostram matrem
desponsavit, ut vir bonus,
non omittens ante patrem,

verax tutor, flos electus,
ex milite in monarcham,
equus iudex, cultor rectus
et federis servans archam,

non pro dote sponsam poscens,
sed ut David aut Hercules,
probitatem illic noscens,
cunctos decet que presules

ne ut Thoras (?) se preferant,
sed ut Aron obediant;
more Phebi currum gerant,
nec ut Pheton decipiant

qui in nostro patre sacro,
unico, sine iudice,
vigent motu nunquam macro,
super omnes in apice.

Et quod adhuc sublimius:
quidquid claudit, clausum restat
apud deum superius,
quid aperit, patens extat,
nec mutabit id alius.

Ergo tanto tam potenti
clerus, chorus, milicia,
viro voto condecenti,
adhereant industria.

Nam cut caput est robustum,
sanum, recte situatum,
nullum membris stat onustum
sub eodem collocatum.

Hec Guilhermus dictans favit
Nicolao, quod cantavit,
ut sit opus consummatum.

1 cum: com *ms.* // **7** tramitu: tuuntu *ms.* // **13** pacis: paris *ms.* // **18** milite milibus *ms.* //

2

Romanorum rex inclite,
Alberte, vita glorie
tibi sit eternalis.

Fuisti princeps nobilis,
parens prudens et humilis
ecclesie filius.

Te diligebat populus
almanicus, bohemicus
ac tota religio.

Ergo Brassart cum Erasmo
Adam serva, Io. de Sarto
Iohannisque pariter

Tirion, Martin et Galer,
cantores celeriter
psall*entes* Cristo regi,

nostro summo creatori,
supplicando sue matri
ut sua per merita

perducat ad celestia
animam cum gloria
regis eternaliter.
Amen.

14 celeriter: *the lesson is uncertain, and the verse short one syllable* // **15** psallentes: psallie *ms.* //

3

No. 188. 262*v*°–264*r*°

O rex Fridrice, tu pulcre pacis amice,
cleri protector ac utilis populi rector
existis vere, quod cuncti possunt videre.
Austriam nunc regis post mortem incliti regis
Alberti clari: te sibi nunc comparari
cupio tam pie, tum nocte tum quoque die.
O Cristi genitrix, sis principis auxiliatrix,
ut te iuvante, patriam regat velud ante
rex hanc regebat, et firma pace tenebat:
hic te reliquit quem pacem ponere scivit.
Clerus ac populus, tum proprius tum alienus,
nunc vocibus oret, te cantu virgo decoret.
Nos nympha pia, exaudi, virgo Maria,
ut, extrema dies, sit nobis celica quies,
cum sanctis omnibus hoc prestet trinus et unus.
Amen.

1 amice: ami *ms. both voices* //

4

No. 120. 166*v*° 167*r*°

Domitor Hectoris, Paride domitus,
frigie Telephum lancea pertulit
cruribus intimum; Iesus emercuit,
donec resecuit hasta vulnusculum,
lesi refloruit ligno corpusculum.
Prothoparens, ligni sanctiatus esu,
languescebat; illum reparavit lignum,
solidavit arbor. Ave lignum crucis,
libra summi ducis, vita, salus, via,
jugis regni lucis, pande reis dya.

3 cruribus: cunbus *ms.* // **6** sanctiatus: *more probably* sauciatus //

APPENDIX 3

Some idea of the quality of **Ao**'s *unica* may be gathered from the following three works, chosen as the more characteristic and significant of the new music which the codex has revealed.

No. 123 is a specimen of a 15th century isorhythmic motet, and represents one of the latest types of this musical species, doomed to disappear in the new polyphonic universe developed in that epoch. It is interesting to see in this motet how the conception of isorhythmy, product of the 14th century mind, was treated by the later composer. The melodic construction of the work is also curious.

No. 120 is a hitherto unknown, but characteristic work of Binchois, composed in honour of Holy Cross. Few motets of this kind composed by Binchois have come down to us, and the piece is therefore of importance with regards to this musician's output and style.

No. 167, of which I have published the first half, is the Sanctus of the Mass *Dagaudiorum premia*, contained only in **Ao**. I venture to remark that this work will take a place among the foremost compositions of the English master. Its melodic line, as well as the treatment of the *Tenor*, will certainly offer new material for the study of Dunstable's technique.

The following are indispensable notes relative to the transcription of the above-mentioned compositions; numbers alone refer to measures of the modern score:

No. 1 (123) O MARIA, VIRGO DAVITICA. **Ao**[3] ff. 169*v*°–171*r*°. In *Trp, Mot, Ct*, diminished equivalence (*br.* = crotchet): 23–26, 47–50, 71–74, 95–98. Mensuration signs in these same voices:) 23, 47, 71, 95; (27, 51, 75, 99.

<*Triplum*>: black notes: 2, 11–12, 18–19, 30, 35–36, 42–43 54, 59–60, 66–67, 78, 83–84, 90–91, 102, 107–108 // 55 *sign. congr.* cod. //

<*Motetus*>: black notes: 6, 10–11, 34–35, 58–59, 82–83, 106–108. // 38[4]–39 *pu.* om. cod. // 46 *pa.* om. cod. // 55 *sign. congr.* cod. // 78 ♯ before 76 //

Contratenor: black notes: 10–12, 17, 20, 22, 29, 34–36, 41, 44, 46, 53, 58–60, 65, 68, 70, 77, 82–84, 89, 92, 94, 101, 106–108 //

26[1] *min.* cod. // 28 *pa.* om. cod. // 50[2] *sb.* cod. // 76 *pa.* om. cod. //

No. 2 (120) DOMITOR HECTORIS PARIDE DOMITUS. **Ao**[3] ff. 166*v*°–167*r*°. Diminished equivalent, all voices: 1–43. Mensuration signs: ¢ 1 *C, T*; O 44 all voices.

<*Cantus*>: black notes: 66–67, 92–93, 95*a*, 96*a*, 99–100 // 57[7] *sb.* cod. // 69[2] *sb.* cod. //

Contratenor: black notes: 46–47, 90–91, 94*a*, 99–100 // 96[4] and 98 *lig. cum op. prop.* cod. //

Tenor: black notes: 48, 52, 70[2]–71[1].

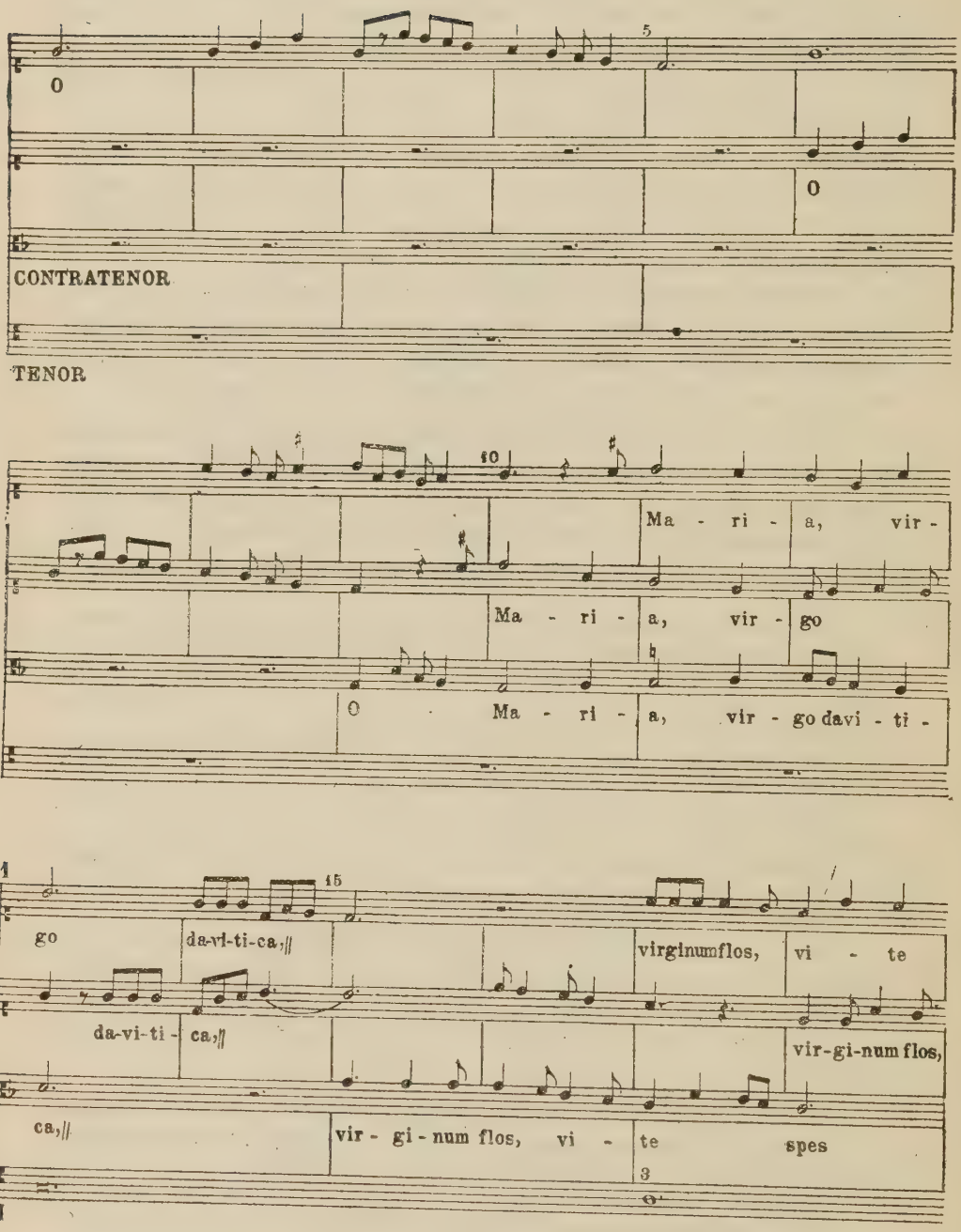
No. 3 SANCTUS DA GAUDIORUM PREMIA. **Ao**[3] ff. 228*v*°–229*r*° (first half).

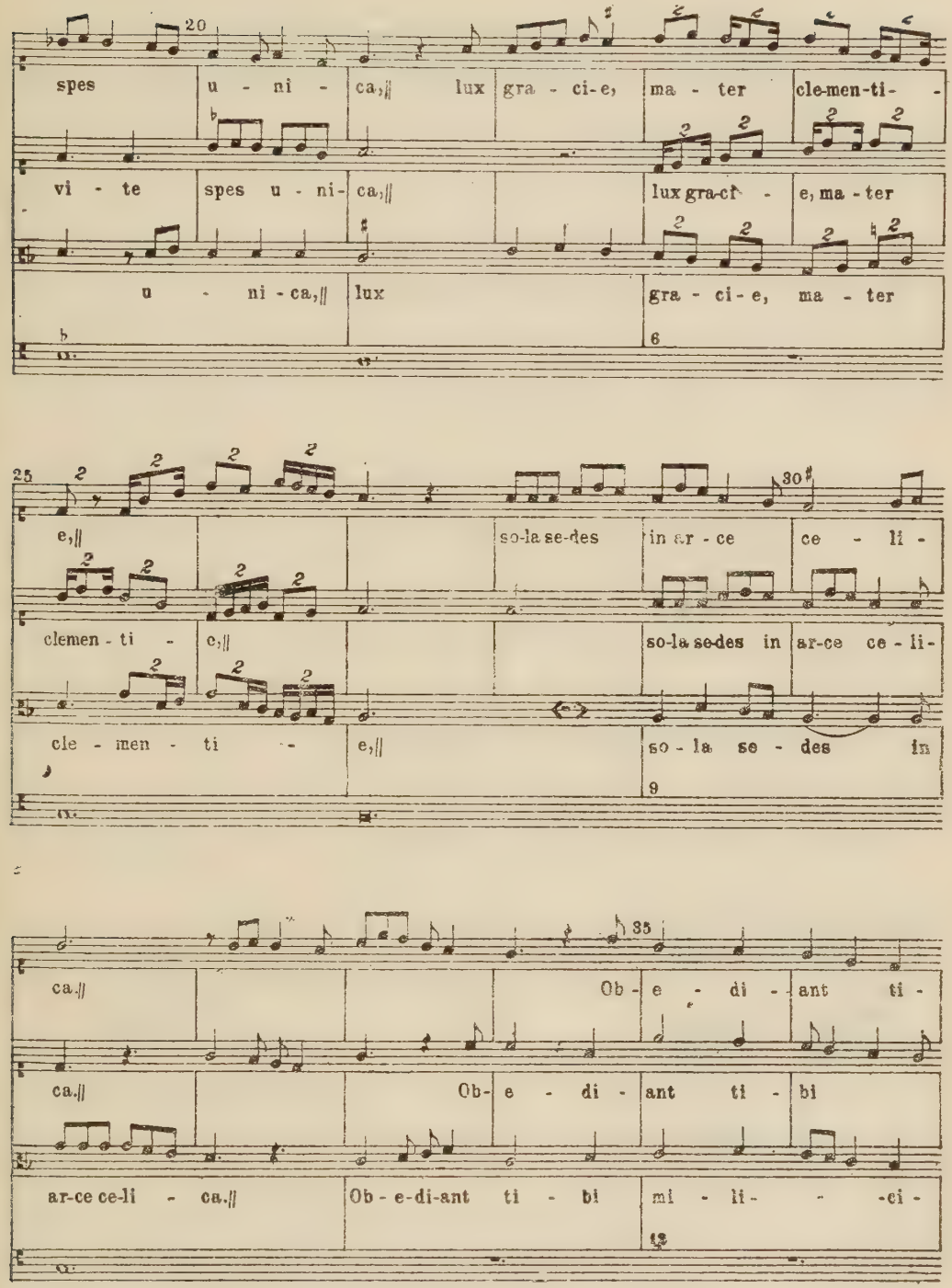
<*Cantus*>: mensuration signs: ⊙ 61; 𝄽 64[4], (66[5]; O 69 // Black notes: 19[1-3], 23[4]–24[1], 24[5-6], 25[4-5], 26[3-4], 52–53, 63[4]-64[3], 65[2-6].

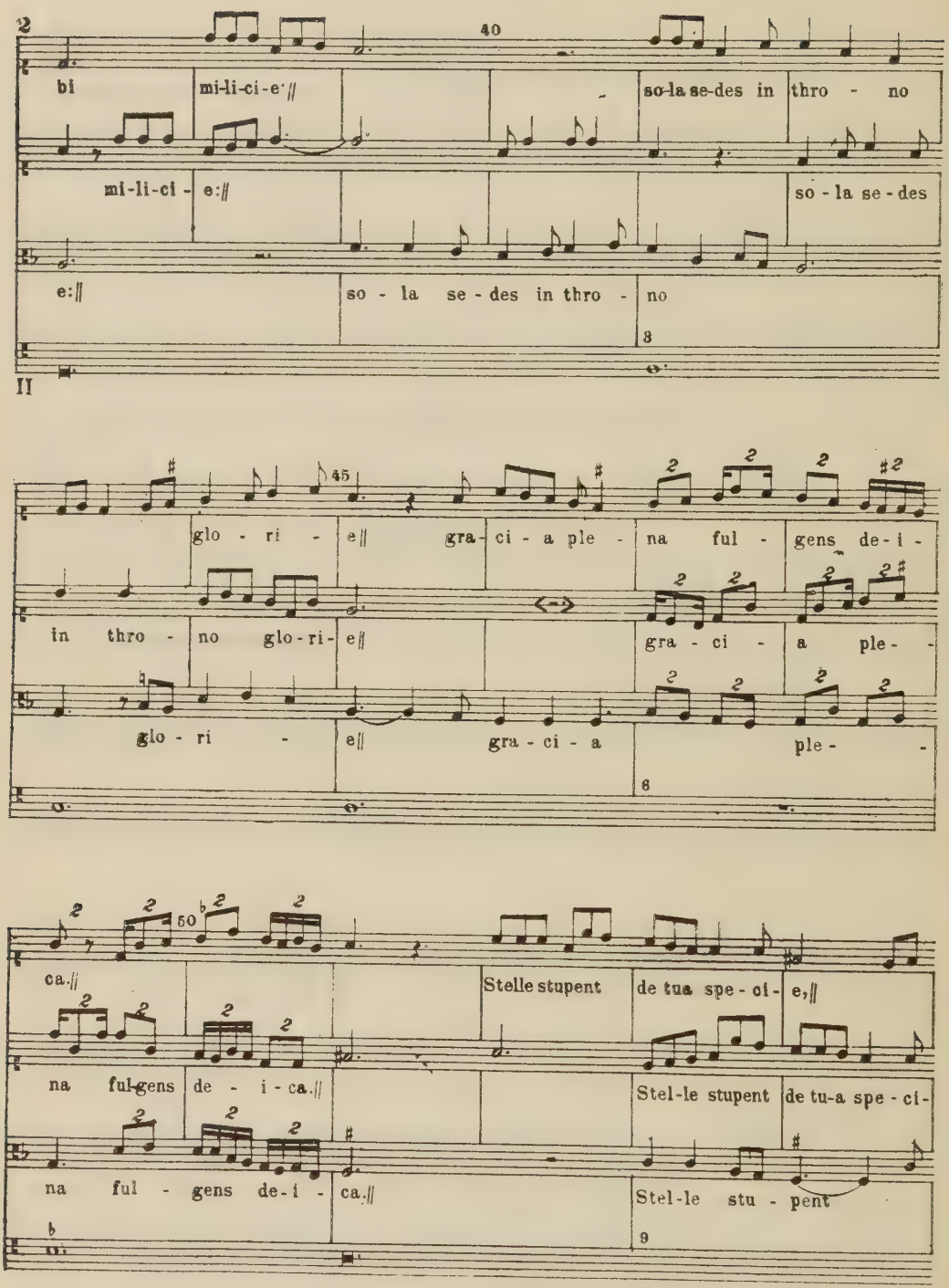
Contratenor: black notes: 1–2, 23[4-5], 24[4-5], 25[3-4], 37[2-3], 46, 55–56, 64[5-6], 67[4] // 3[1] ♯.

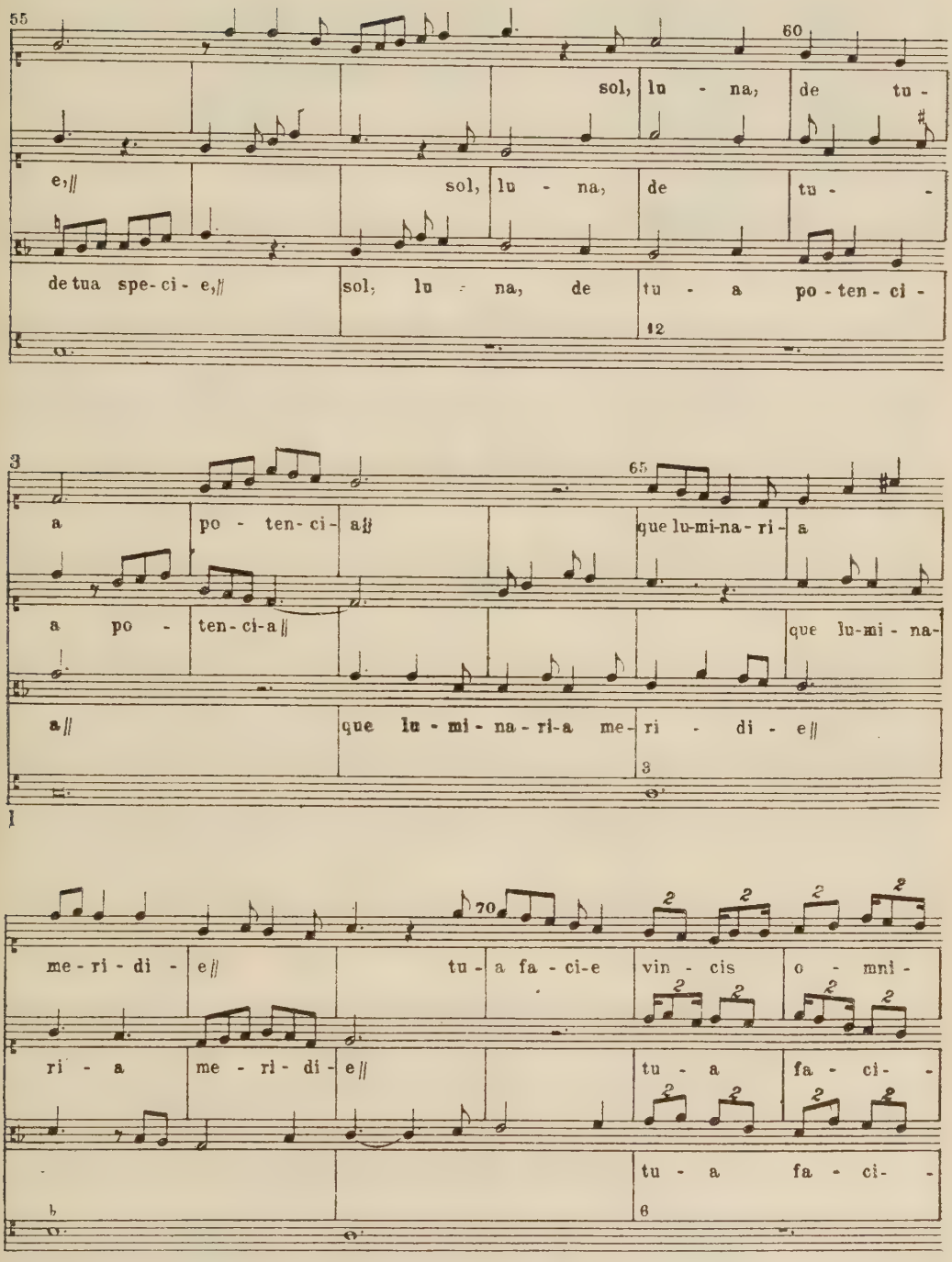
Tenor: augmented equivalent throughout. Black notes: 18.

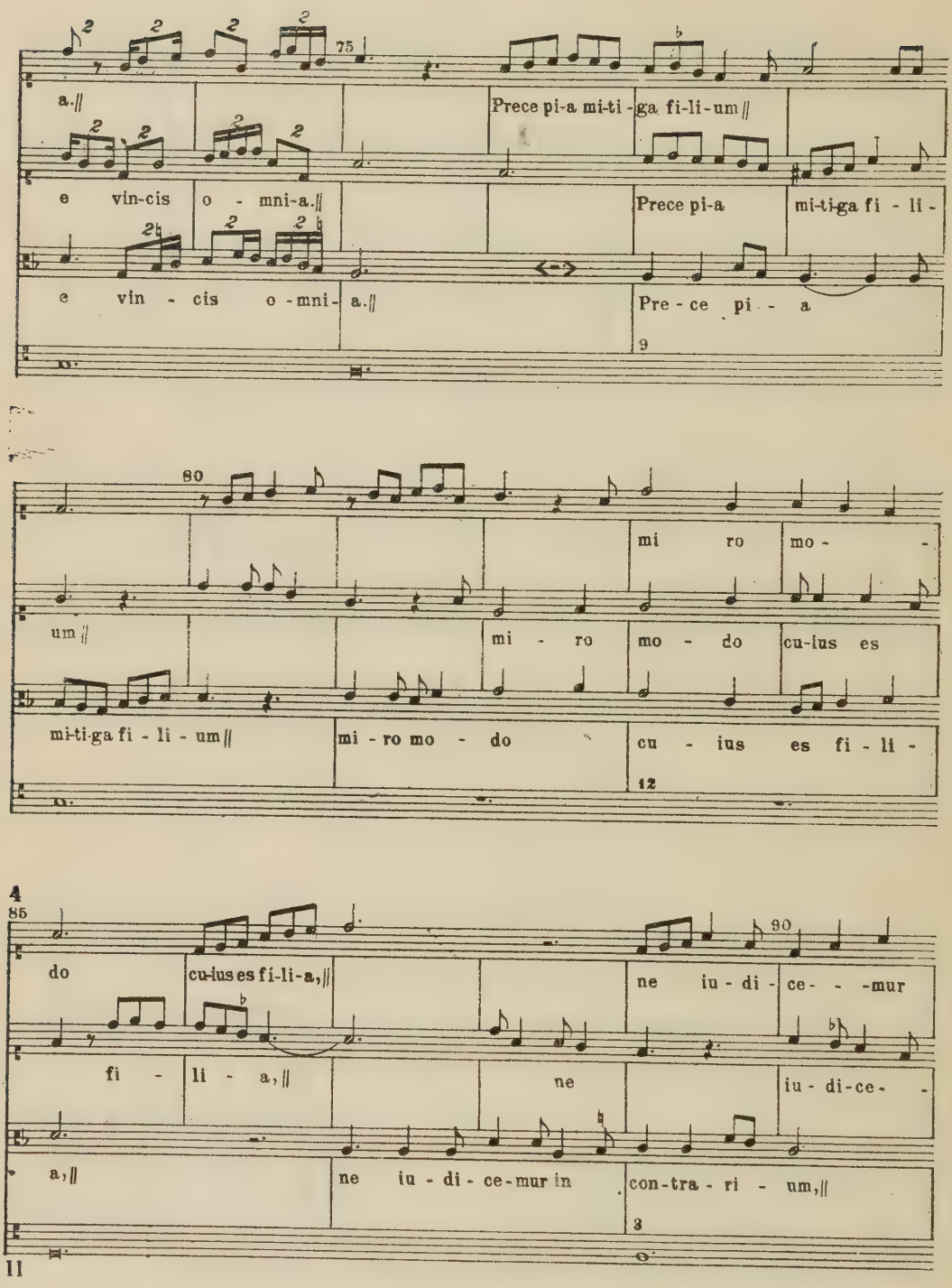
I

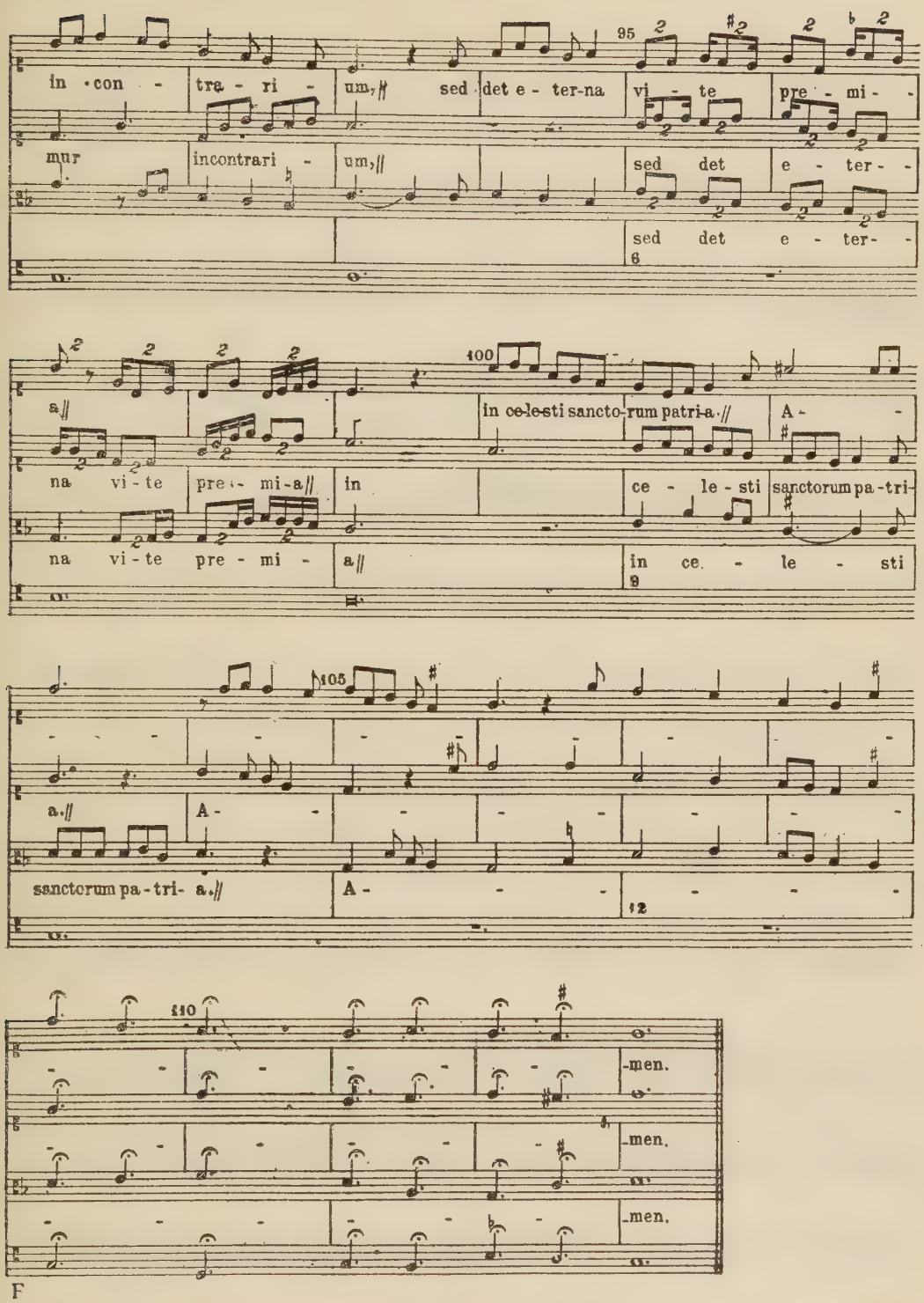

5
O
O
CONTRATENOR
TENOR
10
Ma - ri - a, vir -
Ma - ri - a, vir - go
O Ma - ri - a, vir - go davi - ti -
15
go
da-vi-ti-ca,
virginumflos,
vi - te
da-vi-ti - ca,
vir-gi-num flos,
ca,
vir - gi - num flos, vi -
te
spes
3


20
spes u - ni - ca, lux gra - ci-e, ma - ter cle-men-ti- -
vi - te spes u - ni- ca, lux gra-ci - e, ma - ter
u - ni - ca, lux gra - ci - e, ma - ter
6
25
e, so-la se-des in ar - ce ce - li -
clemen - ti - e, so-la se-des in ar-ce ce - li-
cle - men - ti - e, so - la se - des in
9
30
ca. Ob - e - di - ant ti -
ca. Ob- e - di - ant ti - bi
ar-ce ce-li - ca. Ob - e-di-ant ti - bi mi - li- -ci -
12
35


40
bi mi-li-ci-e:‖ so-la se-des in thro - no
mi-li-ci - e:‖ so - la se - des
e:‖ so - la se - des in thro - no
II
45
glo - ri - e‖ gra - ci - a ple - na ful - gens de - i -
in thro - no glo - ri - e‖ gra - ci - a ple -
glo - ri - e‖ gra - ci - a ple -
50
ca.‖ Stelle stupent de tua spe - ci - e,‖
na ful-gens de - i - ca.‖ Stel-le stupent de tu-a spe - ci -
na ful - gens de - i - ca.‖ Stel-le stu - pent

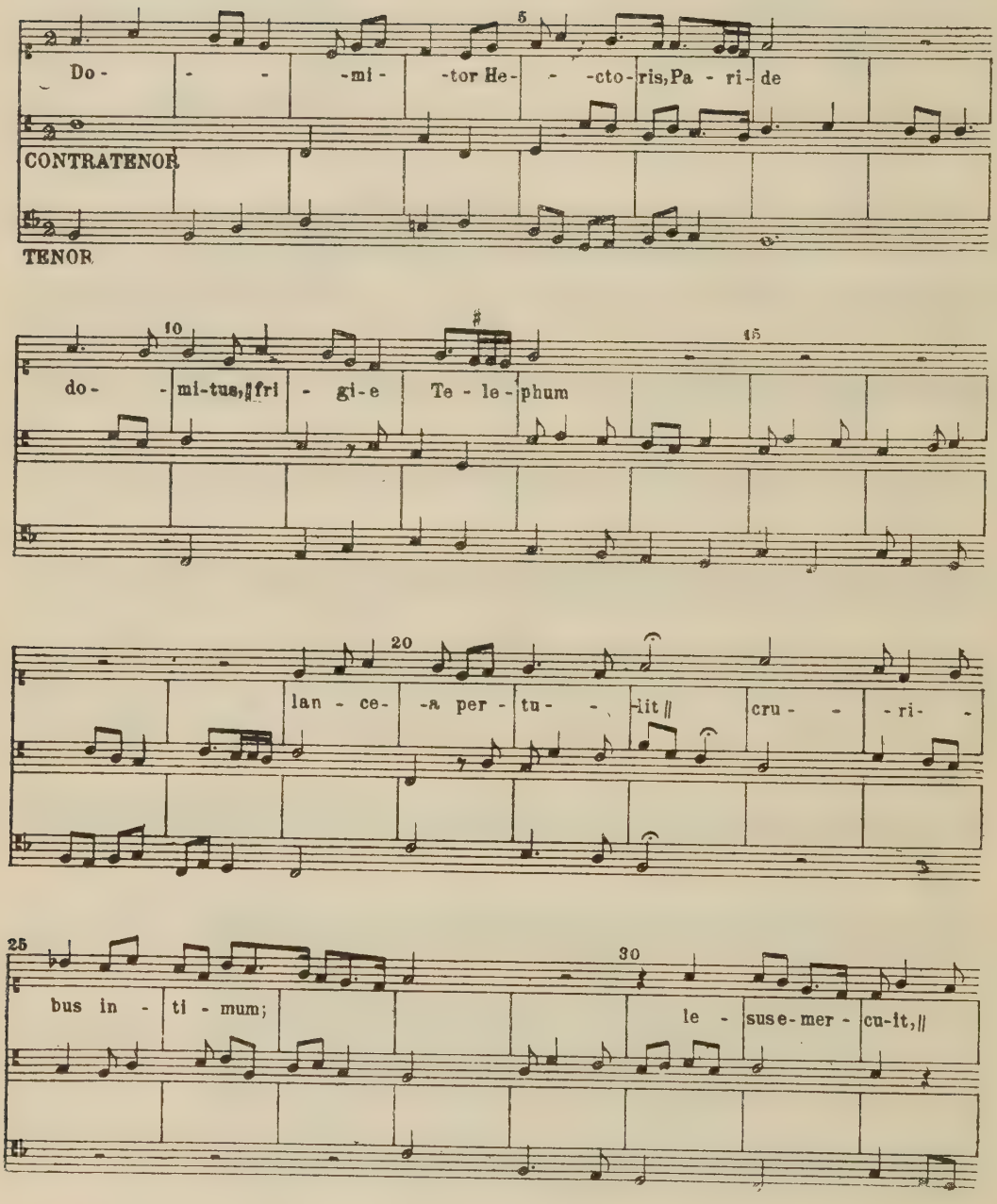

55
60
sol, lu - na, de tu -
e, sol, lu - na, de tu -
de tua spe-ci - e, sol, lu - na, de tu - a po - ten - ci -
12
3
65
a po - ten - ci - a que lu-mi-na - ri - a
a po - ten - ci - a que lu-mi - na -
a que lu - mi - na - ri - a me - ri - di - e
3
70
me - ri - di - e tu - a fa - ci - e vin - cis o - mni -
ri - a me - ri - di - e tu - a fa - ci -
tu - a fa - ci -
6

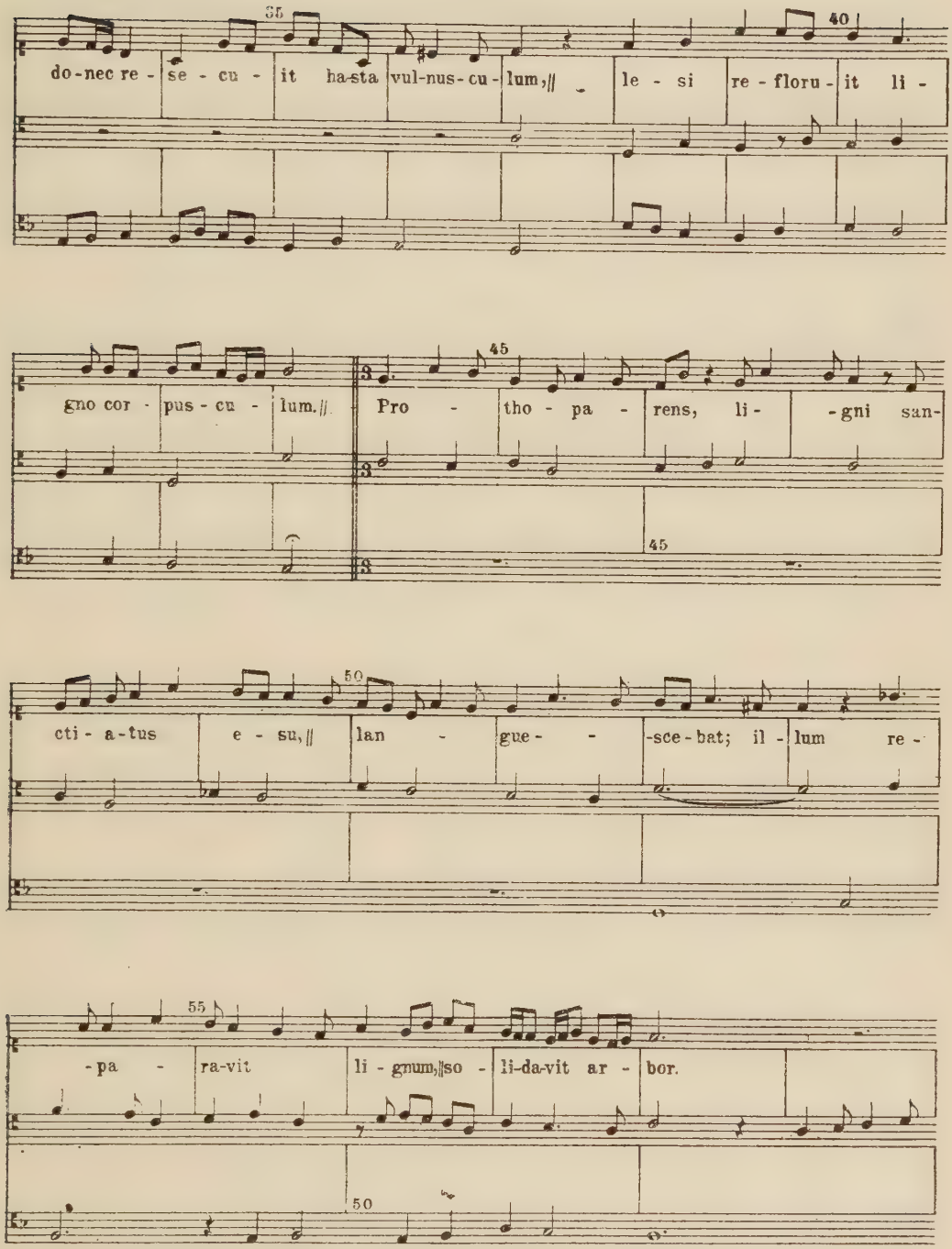

a.
Prece pi-a mi-ti-ga fi-li-um
e vin-cis o - mni-a.
Prece pi-a mi-ti-ga fi - li -
e vin - cis o - mni- a.
Pre - ce pi - a
um
mi ro mo -
mi - ro mo - do cu-ius es
mi-ti-ga fi - li - um
mi - ro mo - do
cu - ius es fi - li -
do
cu-ius es fi-li-a,
ne iu - di - ce - - -mur
fi - li - a,
ne
iu - di-ce -
a,
ne iu - di - ce-mur in
con-tra - ri - um,

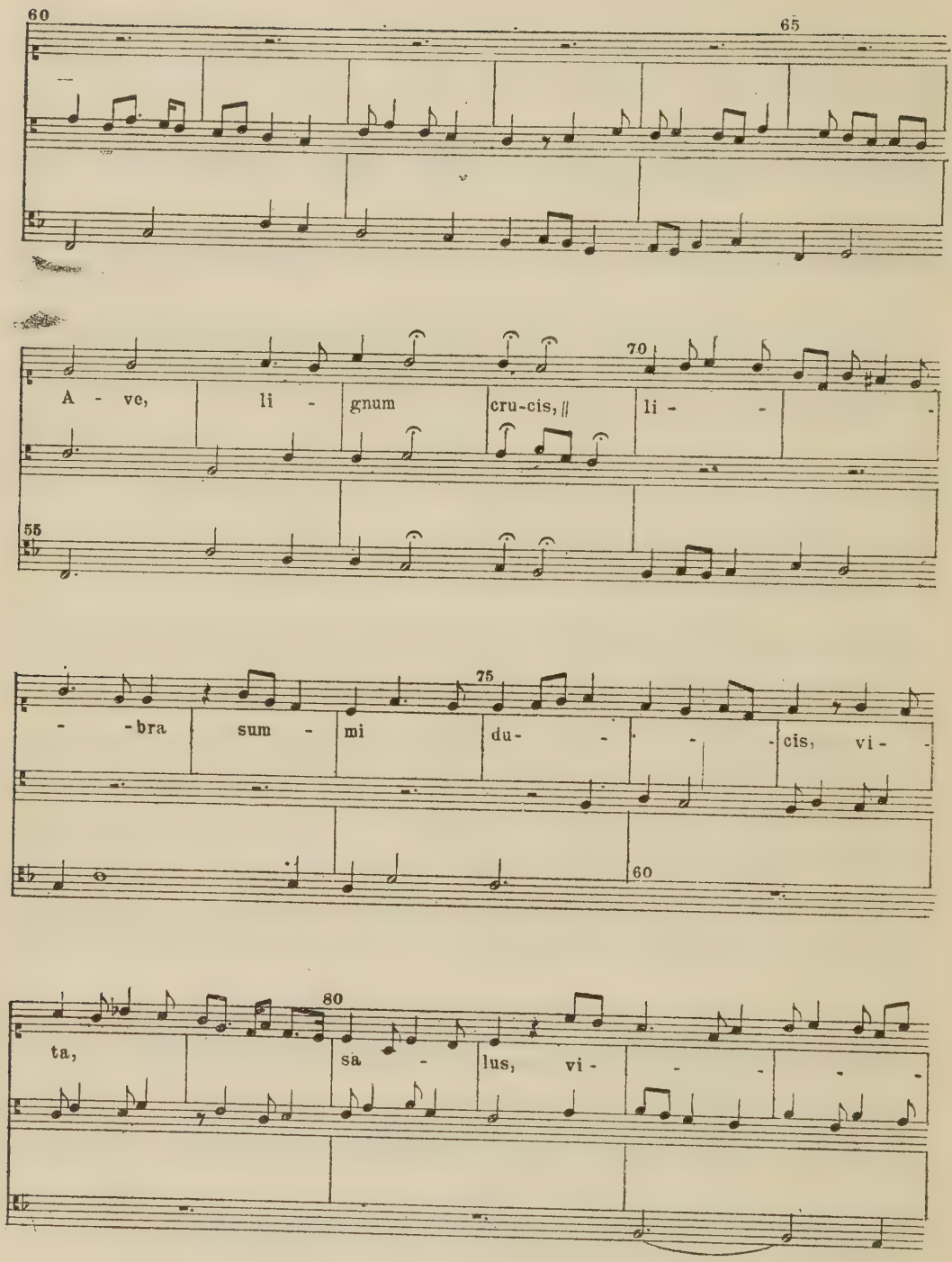

in con - tra - ri - um, sed det e - ter-na vi - te pre - mi -
mur incontrari - um, sed det e - ter -
sed det e - ter -
95
na vi - te pre - mi - a
in ce-le-sti sancto-rum patri-a
A -
na vi - te pre - mi - a
in ce - le - sti sanctorum pa - tri -
in ce - le - sti
100
a
A -
sanctorum pa - tri - a
A -
105
-men.
-men.
-men.
110
F

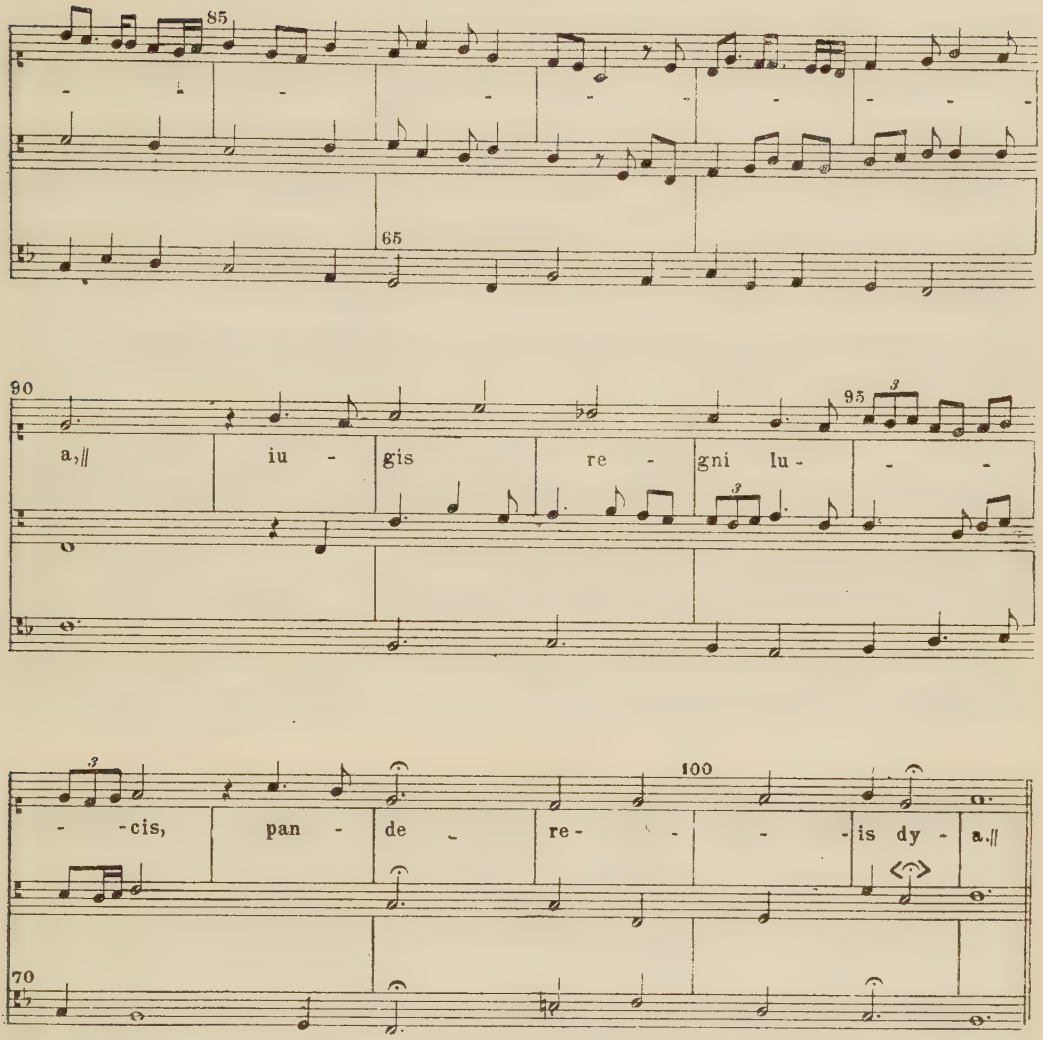
2

BINCHOIS


Do- -mi- -tor He- -cto-ris, Pa - ri- de
CONTRATENOR
TENOR
do- -mi-tus, fri - gi- e Te - le - phum
lan - ce- -a per - tu- - -it cru- - -ri-
bus in - ti - mum; le - suse-mer - cu-it,

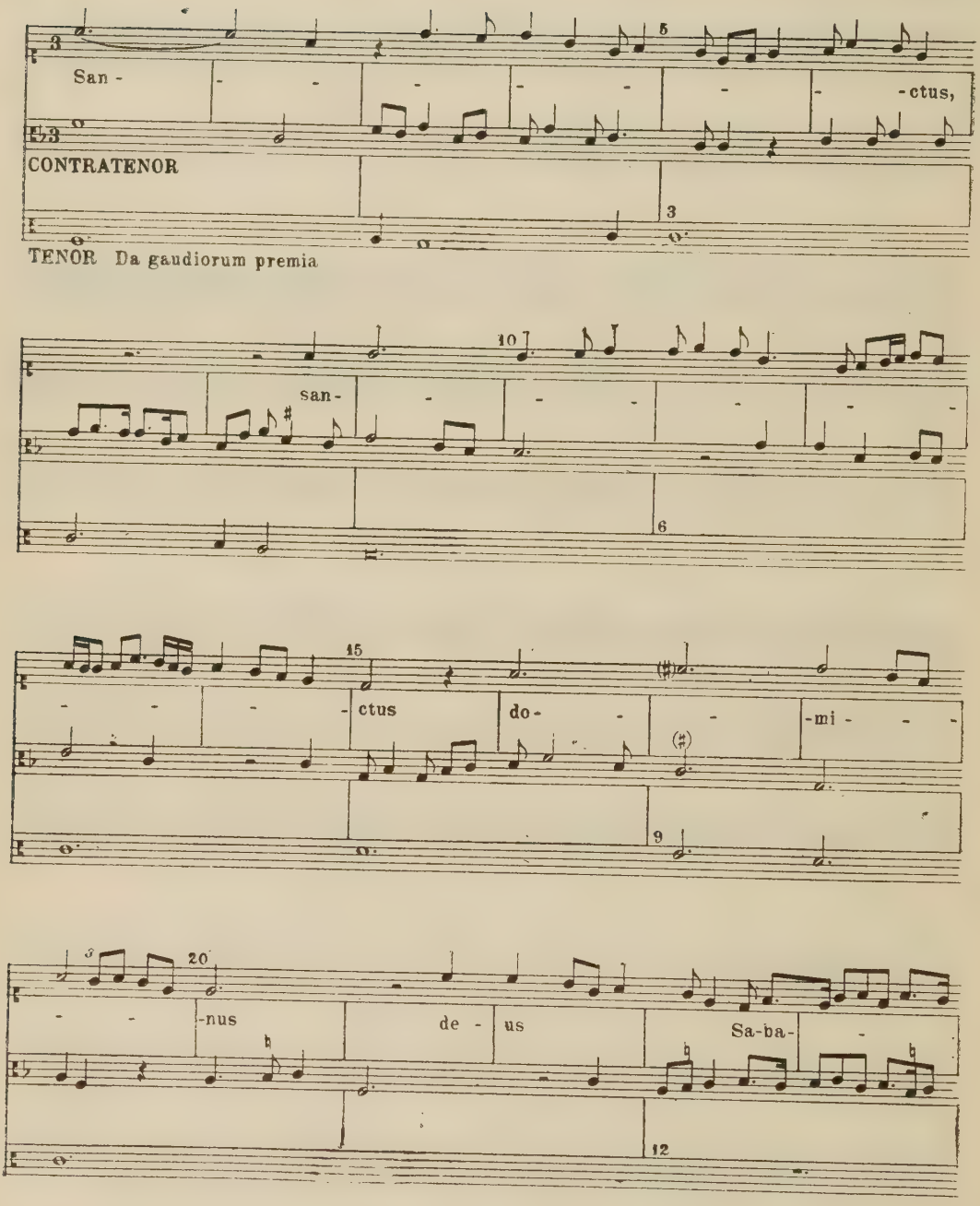

35
40
do-nec re- se - cu - it ha-sta vul-nus-cu- lum, le - si re - floru - it li -
gno cor - pus - cu - lum. Pro - tho - pa - rens, li - -gni san-
45
cti - a-tus e - su, lan - gue - - -sce-bat; il - lum re -
50
-pa - ra-vit li - gnum, so - li-da-vit ar - bor.
55

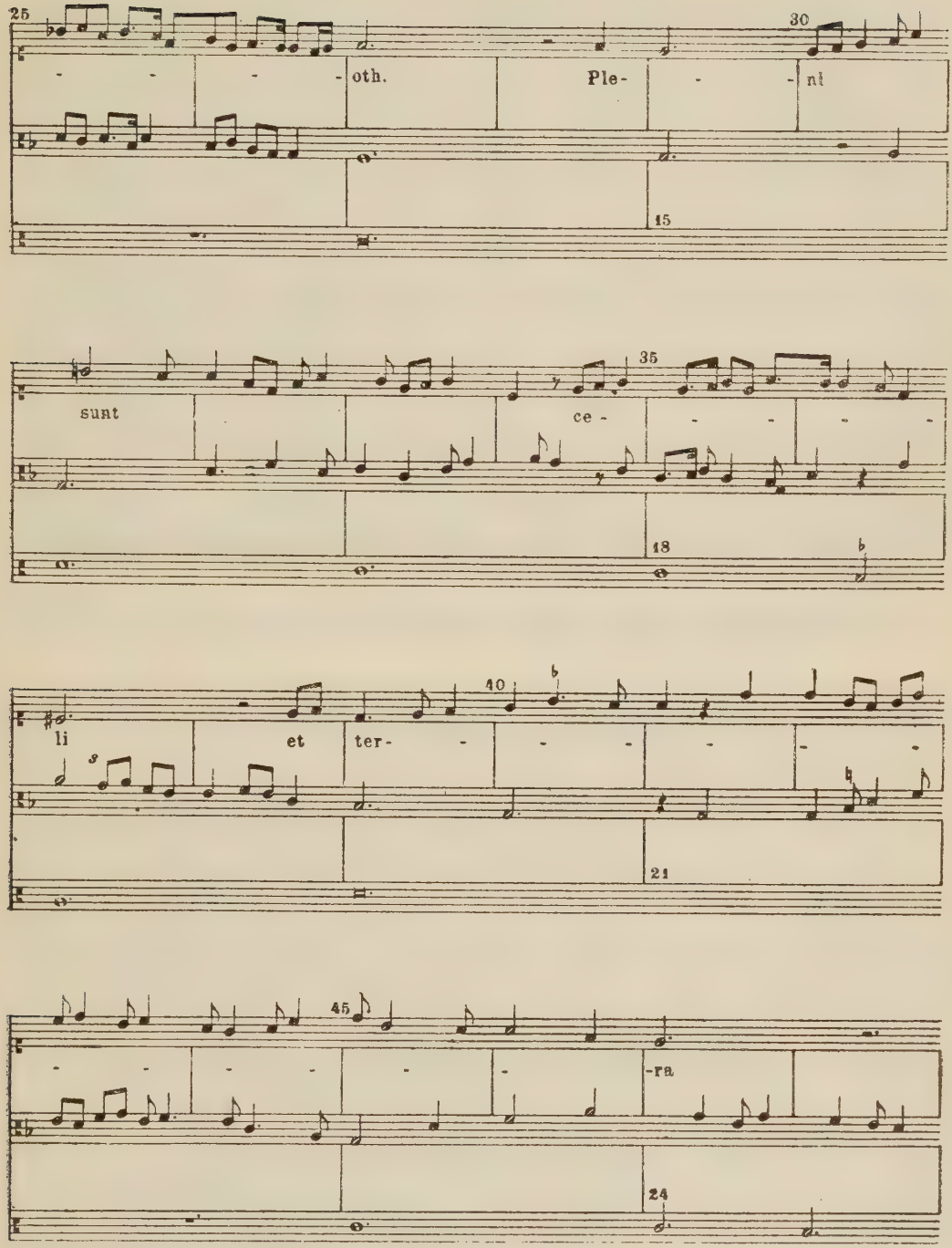

60
65
A - ve, li - gnum cru-cis, li -
70
55
- -bra sum - mi du- - - cis, vi -
75
60
ta, sa - lus, vi -
80

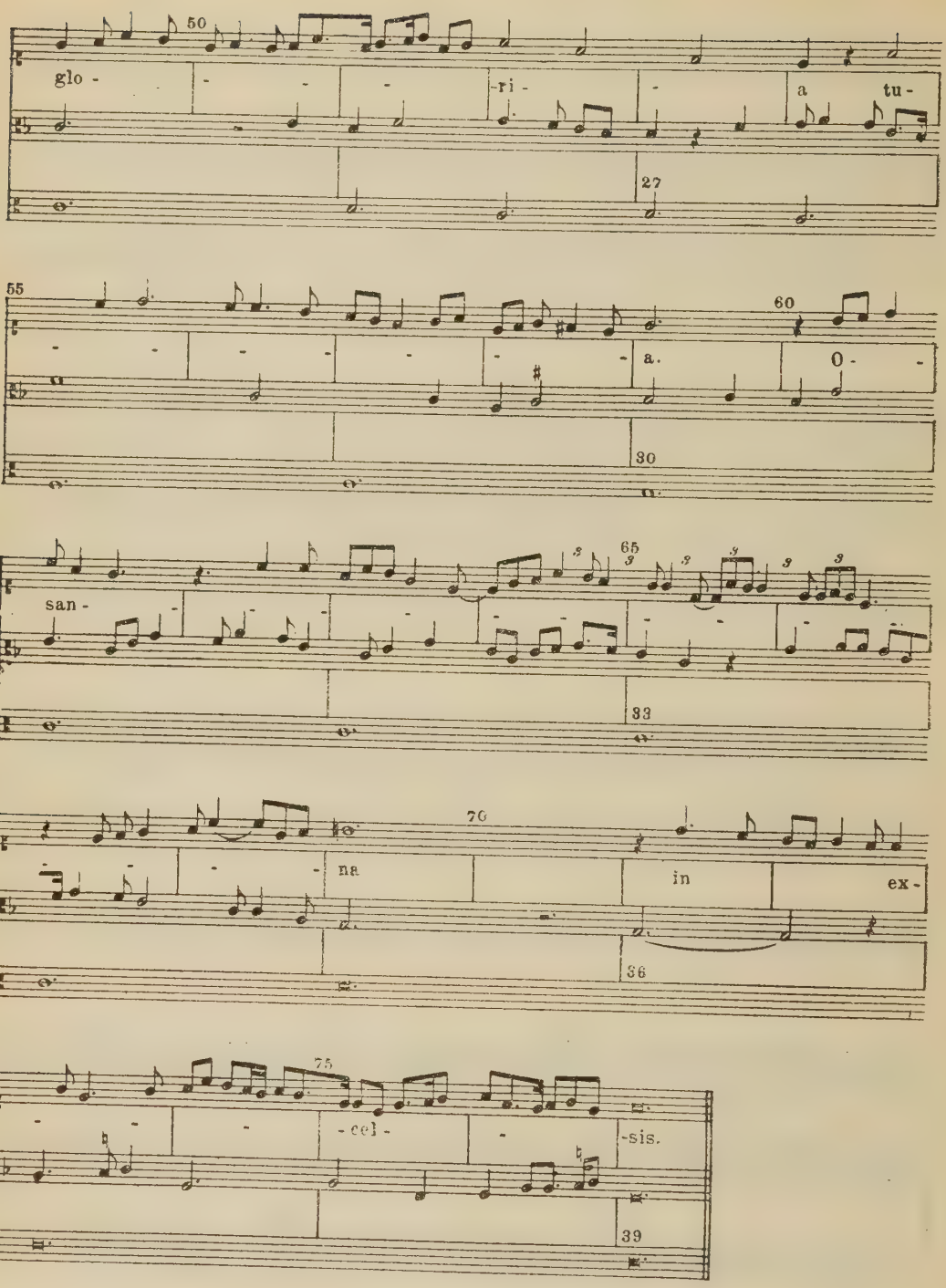

85
65
90
a, iu - gis re - gni lu - -
95
- -cis, pan - de re - - - is dy - a.
100
70

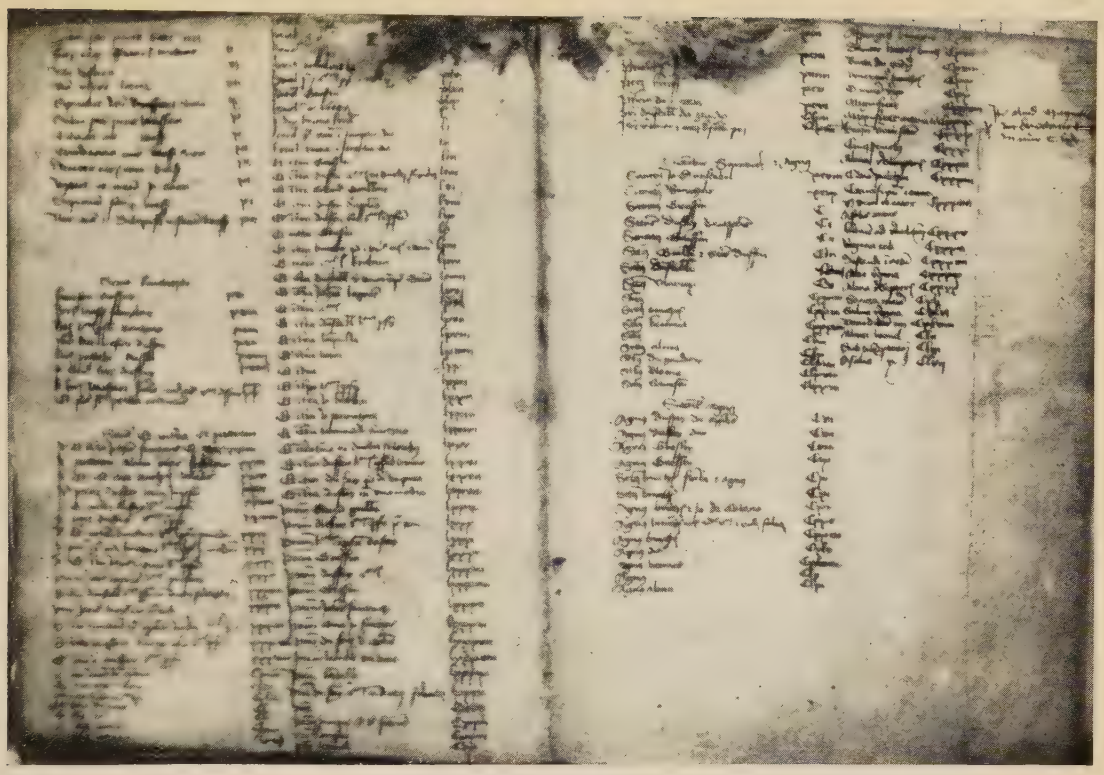
3

DUNSTABLE

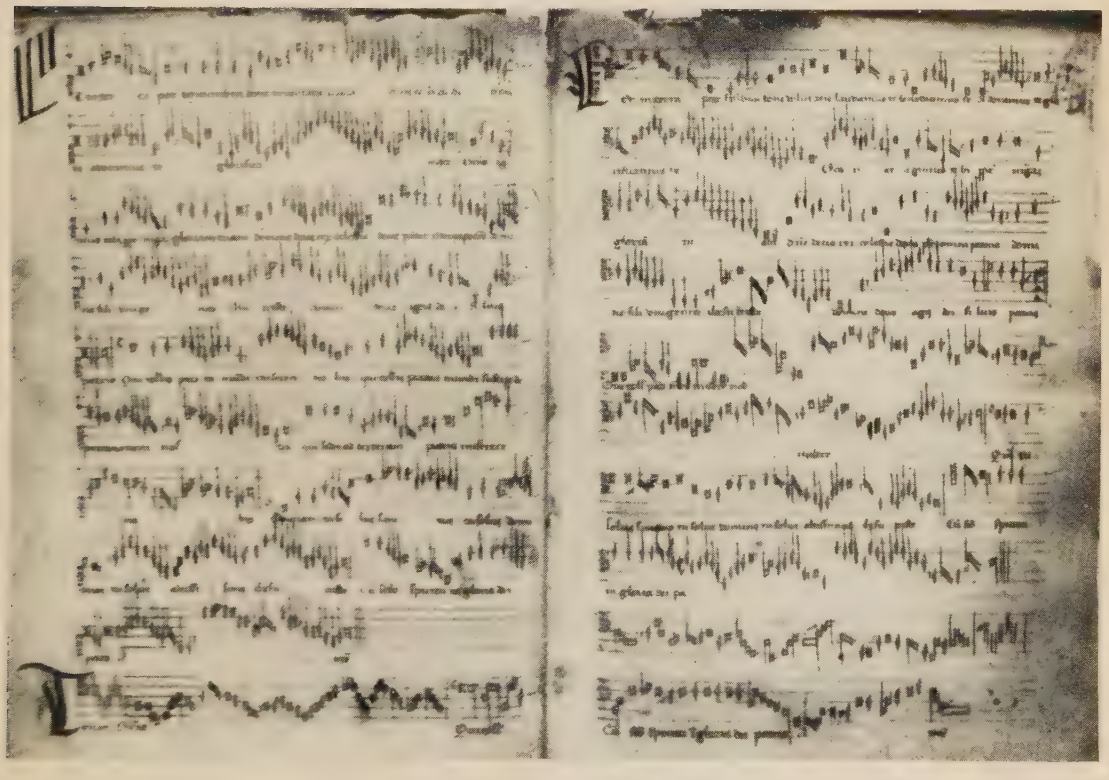

San -
-ctus,
CONTRATENOR
TENOR Da gaudiorum premia
san-
ctus
do-
-mi-
-nus
de - us
Sa-ba-

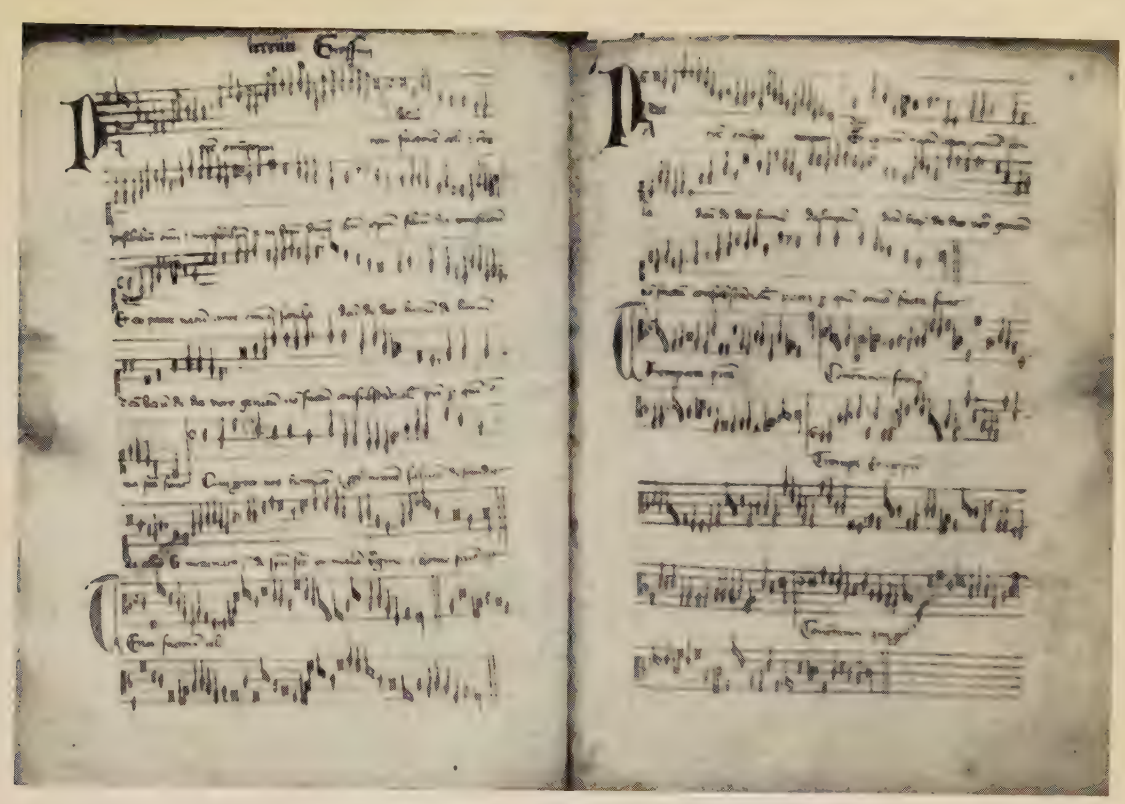
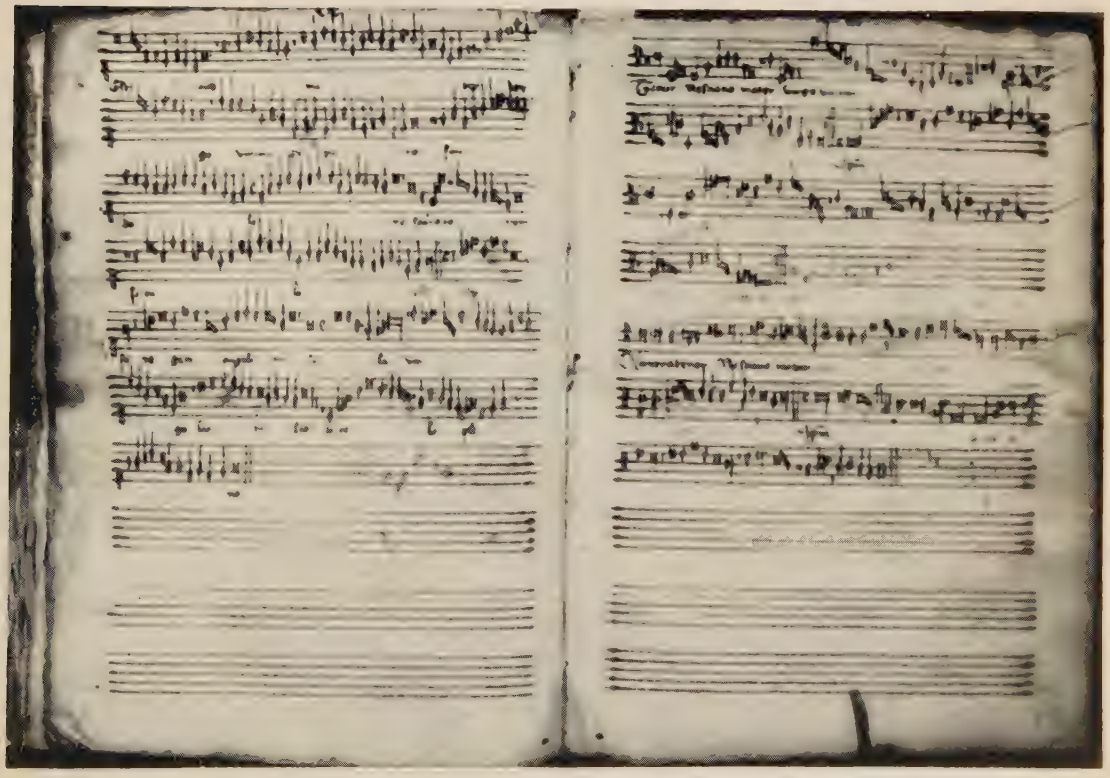

25
oth.
Ple-
ni
30
15
sunt
ce -
35
18
li
et
ter-
40
21
45
-ra
24


50
glo -
-ri-
a
tu-
27
55
60
a.
O-
30
65
san-
33
70
na
in
ex-
36
75
-cel-
-sis.
39



Ao. fols. 3*v*°–4*r*°: the original table of contents (third hand).



Ao. fols. 39*v*°–40*r*°: *Et in terra* (first hand).

Ao. fols. 111*v*°–112*r*°: *Et in terra* of Grossim – Trompette (second hand).

Ao. fols. 271*v*°–272*r*°: the motet *Nesciens mater virgo* (fourth hand).

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE PRESENT ARTICLE

A	Antiphon
AfM	*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*
AM	*Acta Musicologica*
BESSELER, *MMA*	BESSELER (H.). *Die Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* ... Potsdam, 1931.
Br.	*Brevis*
B. V. M.	The Blessed Virgin Mary
C I	*Cantus primus*
Co	Communion
Cod.	Codex
CS	COUSSEMAKER (Edmond de), *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi* ... Parsiis, 1864–1876.
Ct	*Contratenor*
Cum op. prop.	*Cum opposita proprietate*
DTO	*Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich.*
Facs.	Facsimile
Fb	*Fauxbourdon*
Frag.	Fragment
H	Hymn
Hamb. Progr.	*Musik des Mittelalters in der Hamburger Musikhalle vom 1. bis 8. April 1924.*
Int	Introit
Lig.	*Ligatura*
MARIX	MARIX (J.). *Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne* ... Paris (1938).
Min.	*Minima*
Mo	Motet
Mo Is	Isorhythmic motet
Mot	*Motetus*
O	Offertory
Om.	Omitted
Pa.	*Pausa*
PS	VAN DEN BORREN (Ch.). *Polyphonia sacra* ... London, 1932.
Pu.	*Punctus*
Publ.	Published
RIEMANN. *Komp.*	RIEMANN (H.). *Kompendium der Notenschriftkunde.* Regensburg, 1910.
S	Sequence
Sb.	*Semibrevis*
Sign. congr.	*Signum congruentię*
T	*Tenor*
Tr	Trope
Trp	*Triplum*
VjMw	*Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*
Voc.	*Voces, vocum,* etc.

SIGLA OF MANUSCRIPTS USED IN THE PRESENT ARTICLE

BL	Bologna, Liceo Musicale, Q 15 (No. 37)
BU	Bologna, Bibl. Univ., ms. 2216
Ca 6	Cambrai, Bibl. munic., ms. 6
Ca 11	Cambrai, Bibl. munic., ms. 11
CS 15	Rome, Bibl. Vat., Capella Sistina 15
CS 46	Rome, Bibl. Vat., Capella Sistina 46
FM1	Florence, Bibl, naz., Magliabecchiana 112 *bis*
Mod B	Modena, Bibl. Estense, A. x. 1, 11
Mü L	Munich, Bayr. Staatsbibl., mus, ms. 3224.
Mü O	Munich, Bayr. Staatsbibl., mus. ms. 3232a
O	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici misc. 213
OH	Old Hall near Ware, Catholic College of St. Edmund, manuscript without shelf number
OS	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden B. 26
Pal	Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Pal. 87
Pemb	Cambridge, Pembroke College, Incunab. C. 47
Str	Strasbourg, Bibl. nat., lost manuscript M. 222 C. 22
Tourn 471	Tournai, Bibl. capit., ms. 471
Tr 87	Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, ms. 87
Tr 88	Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, ms. 88
Tr 90	Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, ms. 90
Tr 92	Trent, Castel del Buon Consiglio, ms. 92
Tr 93	Trent, Bibl. capit., ms. 93
Tu B	Turin, Bibl. naz., ms. J. 11. 9
Ven	Venice, Bibl. Marciana, ms. ital., cl. IX, 145.

LA PEDAGOGIE MUSICALE A LA FIN DU MOYEN AGE

GUILLAUME DE VAN

Il y avait une fois dans la ville de Florence un philosophe ardemment épris de la science; celui-ci, par gentillesse pour ses concitoyens, diffusait volontiers ce que les études lui avaient révélé. Jamais il ne refusa de communiquer à qui que ce soit un résultat de ses recherches. Or, une nuit, il vit en songe les déesses de la science honteusement exposées en un mauvais lieu. Le cœur affligé de ce spectacle, il leur demanda: «Que signifie ceci ? Pourquoi êtes-vous là ?» Alors elles lui répondirent toutes en chœur: «C'est toi qui nous y a mis !» Réveillé par ce cauchemar, il comprit que toute vérité n'est pas bonne à dire, et il résolut de ne transmettre désormais les secrets du savoir qu'aux personnes qui s'étaient révélées dignes de les posséder[1].

L'hermétisme fut, pendant tout le moyen âge, la condition essentielle de tout enseignement scientifique, ou même artisanal. L'apprenti qui désirait acquérir une compétence quelconque dut vaincre une série d'obstacles destinée à éprouver son aptitude et à rendre difficile la trahison de la connaissance reçue par voie d'initiation. On peut affirmer que l'esprit de tous les centres d'enseignement d'alors tendit à décourager l'élève et à lui compliquer la tâche. En cela, la méthode des écoles de musique établies à l'ombre des cathédrales ou des monastères, ou bien entretenues par des princes mélomanes, ne différa point de celle des autres disciplines. Cependant, la période qui nous intéresse ici vit la première tentative d'une nouvelle pédagogie. Afin de pouvoir comprendre quelles furent les circonstances des débuts de celle-ci, il est essentiel de bien définir l'attitude de l'homme médiéval vis-à-vis de la discipline musicale. Les quelques remarques que je ferai ici en guise de prologue – au risque de répéter ce qui est connu de tous les spécialistes – nous aideront à mesurer la qualité de l'enseignement donné dans les institutions.

La musique fut, pendant tout le moyen âge, tenue pour une science et non pas pour un art. Entendons-nous bien sur ces termes, car il

[1] A. Wesselofsky, *Il Paradiso degli Alberti* 1², 8-9.

n'y a pas de correspondance médiévale exacte à notre conception de l'art. La création d'œuvres plastiques et graphiques appartenait à l'artisanat, la littérature occupait une place intermédiaire entre l'artisanat et la science, enfin la musique, considérée comme une branche de la mathématique, était divisée en deux catégories: la musique théorique et la musique pratique. Toutefois, le mot *musicien* était réservé exclusivement aux initiés de la première de ces disciplines[2]. Les pratiquants de la musique, dont nous allons analyser la formation, n'étaient point des musiciens. On les désignait par un terme formé du nom de l'instrument qui leur servait à produire la musique: organistes, viellistes, harpistes, trompettistes, chanteurs, etc. Ces exécutants constituaient, par rapport aux vrais musiciens, un énorme prolétariat auquel on ne reconnaissait que peu de culture; pourtant, comparées à l'instruction du musicien pratiquant d'aujourd'hui, les connaissances de ces ancêtres médiévaux étaient incommensurablement plus universelles et mieux étayées par les principes essentiels de la musique. Parfois, musicien et exécutant se confondaient en une même personne, soit que le musicien ait voulu descendre dans le domaine de la réali-

[2] La définition du musicien qui résume d'une manière parfaite la conception médiévale, est celle de Jacques de Liège:

Musicus est qui musicam in se habet, sicut arismeticus qui arismeticam, justus qui justiciam. Et cum duplex sit musica, theorica scilicet et practica, ille vero et proprie magister musicus est qui theoricam habet que practicam dirigit et sibi imperat. Qui autem practicam habet, caret autem speculativa, non sic proprie musicus censeri debet; et huius signum, secundum Boecium, est quod tales non a musica denominantur, sed aliunde, ab instrumentis scilicet musicalibus quibus utuntur et musice subserviunt, velut cytharedus a cythara, tybicen a tybia, lyricen a lyria, viellator a viella, organizator ab organo, et sic de aliis variis musicalibus artificialibus instrumentis. Qui autem naturalibus utuntur instrumentis quibus vox formatur, usu quodam consonancias proferre scientes, musicales causas illarum ignorantes, inter illas sufficienter distinguere nescientes, non illarum proprietates, non numerales proporciones cognoscentes, quare hec bene, meliores ille, et ille optime, hec consone, hec dissone, hec ecmeles, tales cantores dicuntur. Qui autem cantare nesciunt, vel propter defectum vocis vel quia talem non habent usum, sciunt tamen consonanciarum naturas et alia ad musicam theoricam spectancia, musice non amittunt nomen. Ideo Boecius musicum sic describit: « *Musicus est qui racione perpensa canendi scientiam, non servicio operis, sed imperio speculationis assumit* », *quasi dicat: ille musicus est proprie qui musicam habet speculativam, non sic qui practicam solam, que consistit in servicio operis, quia opere suo speculative deservit que sibi imperat et ipsum dirigit*. Paris, B. N. lat., 7207, fol. 3 *r°*; 7207A, fol. 3 *v°*; cf. W. Grossmann, *Die Einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum musicae*, 61. Si parfois on rencontre dans la littérature du moyen âge le titre de musicien décerné à un simple compositeur (par exemple, Ph. Villani, *Liber de civitatis Florentiae famosis civibus* [ed. Galletti], Florentiae, 1847, 34: *De Ioanne Bartholo et Francisco musicis*) il faut y voir soit une ignorance de terminologie, soit un effet d'hyperbole.

sation matérielle[3], soit que le pratiquant ait cherché à accéder à la dignité du musicien[4].

Ainsi, dans la terminologie du moyen âge, les compositeurs qui atteignirent les plus hauts sommets de l'art (dans le sens moderne) ne furent pas des musiciens. Jacques de Liège se garde bien d'appliquer ce mot à Pierre de la Croix[5], bien que celui-ci ait écrit sur la musique, et si le *Speculum* le désigne à deux endroits comme docteur[6], cela signifie que les nouveautés techniques de l'Amiénois constituaient à elles seules un enseignement. Près de deux siècles plus tard, les derniers chefs d'école de la tradition communément appelée franco-flamande commencèrent à être désignés par le nom de musicien: les vieilles conceptions, affaiblies par la décadence naturelle du cycle médiéval presqu'entièrement révolu, furent ébranlées par le puissant génie de ceux qui menèrent la musique à l'expression la plus sublime qu'elle ait jamais connue en Europe. Là où le compositeur des époques antérieures ne fut qu'un artisan qui réalisa dans le temps la doctrine absolue des théoriciens, le maître de l'école franco-flamande incarna la plénitude de la science musicale, grâce à cet équilibre instable, mais parfaitement harmonieux, du divin et de l'humain en lequel réside le secret du dynamisme et de la beauté de la Renaissance[7]. Pendant un bref instant,

3 Le plus célèbre de ces hommes bivalents est sans conteste Philippe de Vitry, cité comme la suprême autorité par tous les novateurs du XIV[e] siècle, qui l'associent à Jean de Muris et à Marchettus, il est également célébré comme pratiquant: il suffit de rappeler le *flos et gemma cantorum* de Theodoricus de Campo (Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, 3, 191*a*), pendant du *flos totius mundi musicorum* de Tunstede (*CS*, 4, 257). Tous les théoriciens ont illustré leurs écrits par des exemples de leur propre composition, mais seuls Tinctoris et Gafurius, au XV[e] siècle, ont laissé des œuvres auxquelles nous reconnaissons aujourd'hui une valeur « artistique ».

4 Les compositeurs qui furent occasionnellement des théoriciens sont très nombreux: Jacobus de Bononia, Paulus de Florentia, Philipotus de Caserta, Johannes Ciconia, Zacarias et enfin Adrianus Petit Coclico. Les meilleurs, cependant, se sont toujours abstenus de cette incursion dans un domaine qui n'était pas le leur; nous ne possédons, heureusement, aucun écrit théorique de Guillaume de Machaut, de Guillaume Dufay, d'Ockeghem ou de Josquin.

5 *Ille valens cantor* (*CS*, 2, 401*a*).

6 *CS*, 2, 410 *b*, 429 *a*.

7 Ce mot sert à désigner les époques les plus diverses. Dans cet article, je nomme ainsi la période qui s'étend de 1440 à 1500. En fait, c'est seulement pendant ce demi-siècle que l'équilibre des deux concepts a existé de façon absolue en Italie. Depuis Pétrarque, l'anthropocentrisme avait cherché à modifier les concepts médiévaux qui découlaient d'une théologie transcendentale que l'Aristotélisme avait cependant déjà ébranlée dès le XIII[e] siècle. A partir du pontificat de Jules II (1503-1513), l'équilibre fut de nouveau rompu et les restes du moyen âge disparurent avec les murs de la vénérable basilique de S. Pierre.

l'artisan exprima dans ses œuvres, non seulement l'application de la doctrine musicale, mais la doctrine elle-même. Le maître fut ainsi dépassé par l'élève et la désignation des compositeurs par le mot *musicien* correspondit à une réalité annonciatrice d'une nouvelle hiérarchie de valeurs [8].

Cette révolution fut préparée dans les écoles des maîtrises établies auprès des cathédrales et à la cour des princes. C'est là – et non pas à l'Université – qu'ont été formés tous les compositeurs qui, au cours du XV^e^ siècle, se sont substitués aux anciens musiciens, c'est à dire aux théoriciens du siècle précédent [9]. On peut conclure que ces écoles fournirent un enseignement qui rendit superflu celui de l'Université. Après avoir assimilé la technique d'un Ockeghem, l'élève pouvait bien se vanter de connaître la musique. Certes, on continua à enseigner la musique à l'Université, mais le programme d'études n'avait guère varié depuis le temps de Jacques de Liège et, par un phénomène éternel que nous connaissons aujourd'hui sous le nom d'« académisme », les docteurs de l'École semblèrent ignorer l'immense révolution survenue dans le domaine de la musique pratique [10].

Tous les styles qui se sont succédé au moyen âge furent le produit direct d'une école particulière. Je ne peux pas parler ici de la tradition de S. Martial qui a laissé une empreinte si profonde sur la musique du haut moyen âge. Ancêtre immédiat de la polyphonie du XV^e^ siècle, l'*ars antiqua* fut le style élaboré par l'école de Notre-Dame de Paris

[8] La conséquence de ce nouvel état de choses se fait rapidement sentir dans les écrits théoriques eux-mêmes. Tinctoris est le dernier théoricien du moyen âge et le premier de la Renaissance; après lui, les théoriciens sont de simples commentateurs et ils tirent leur doctrine, quoiqu'ils se gardent bien de l'avouer, des œuvres qu'ils citent. Les noms de Jacques de Liège, de Tinctoris et de Gafurius peuvent servir d'exemples pour résumer les trois étapes d'un bouleversement de l'ordre établi dont Boèce fut la pierre angulaire.

[9] On comprendra facilement ce déplacement du centre de gravité de la science musicale par ce seul exemple: le XIV^e^ siècle a fait du nom de Philippe de Vitry le synonyme de la science (nous dirions *l'art*) musicale. Or, celui-ci est incontestablement un compositeur de moindre importance que Guillaume de Machaut. J'ai réuni dans mon édition des œuvres de Philippe toutes les citations connues qui nomment l'auteur de l'*Ars nova*. On ne pourrait pas rassembler un aussi brillant faisceau de textes concernant le chanoine de Reims, bien que la musique de ce dernier représente pour nous le point culminant de la musique française au XIV^e^ siècle. Au siècle suivant, aucun théoricien, pas même Tinctoris, ne joua dans la terminologie le rôle qu'avaient tenu Philippe, et, avant lui, Francon et Guy d'Arezzo. Lorsqu'on voulut personnifier la musique au XV^e^ siècle, c'est de Dufay, d'Ockeghem et de Josquin que l'on parla.

[10] Cf. P. Wagner, *Universität u. Musikwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1921.

avant de devenir la musique française[11]. Ce style, qui rayonna pendant près de cent ans sur l'Europe entière, fut un produit parisien, absolument solidaire de l'école de la maîtrîse que dirigea succesivement Léonin et Pérotin, et où, plus tard, l'on mit en pratique l'enseignement révolutionnaire de Francon. Cette école aurait probablement continué à fournir à l'Europe les modèles musicaux, si la guerre de Cent Ans n'avait pas troublé les institutions artistiques de la France, car ce fut encore à Paris que le jeune Philippe de Vitry codifia les innovations qui devaient modifier de fond en comble la conception de la musique polyphonique[12]. Pendant cette époque sombre et chaotique de l'histoire française, alors que la moitié du territoire fut occupée par les Anglais, il n'y eut plus de grandes écoles en France. C'est de l'étranger, de Padoue, de Vérone, de Florence et d'Avignon[13] que rayonna la lumière. Même Guillaume de Machaut passa plus de trente ans à l'etranger, au service du roi de Bohême, et son style est redevable à l'influence italienne d'une caractéristique essentielle, comme je l'ai montré ailleurs[14]. Philippe de Vitry, il est vrai, resta en France où il se distingua par un esprit patriotique étrangement moderne[15]; cependant, sa doctrine reçut sa pleine application hors de France dans les écoles déjà citées[16].

[11] Je n'entends pas nier ici les influences étrangères, surtout anglaises, qui ont joué un rôle important dans la formation de la polyphonie du XIII[e] siècle (cf. J. Handschin, « A Monument of English mediaeval polyphony » dans *The Musical Times*, June 1932 et August 1933) mais cela ne diminue en rien le rôle pédagogique de l'école parisienne, qui seule sut propager la forme cohérente qu'elle avait donnée à des éléments hétérogènes.

[12] Selon le raisonnement de H. Besseler dans *AfM*, 8 (1926), 194–196, la rédaction de l'*Ars nova* se placerait aux environs de 1320. Philippe fut alors fonctionnaire royal (A. Coville, *Philippe de Vitri* dans *Romania*, 59 (1933), 520–547). Plus probant encore est le ms. Paris, B. N., frç. 146 (*Fauv*) copié en 1316 et qui contient les premiers motets de Philippe; ces pièces furent indiscutablement composées dans la capitale (on pourra s'en convaincre d'après les données exposées dans l'introduction de mon édition des œuvres de Vitry).

[13] Géographiquement française, Avignon, ville louée et ensuite vendue au pape par le roi de Provence, échappa au bouleversement politique du royaume de s. Louis.

[14] « La Prolation mineure chez Guillaume de Machaut » dans *Sources*, I (1943), 24–35.

[15] Petrarcha. *De rebus familiaribus*, 9, 13 et 11, 14, éd. par V. Rossi, *Ediz. naz. delle op. di F. P.*, t. II, p. 246–256, 267–275.

[16] Philippe non plus, malgré son chauvinisme, ne resta pas indifférent à l'influence italienne, comme il ressort de son motet *Petre clemens tam re quam nomine* (composé aux environs de 1342 en l'honneur de Clément VI) que j'ai pu récemment lui attribuer grâce à la découverte par mon ami et collègue, M. Ed. Pognon, d'un texte au fol. 50 r° du ms. Paris, B. N., lat. 3343. Le musicien fit surement un séjour à Avignon en septembre 1350, mais il est infiniment probable qu'il s'y trouva en 1327 et en 1343 (Coville, *Op. cit.*, 532).

Les débuts de l'école cambrésienne coïncident avec l'éclipse de la maîtrise de Notre–Dame. La situation politique résultant de la guerre de Cent Ans porta atteinte aux institutions nationales, certes, mais par dessus tout, ce fut le déplacement du centre vital français qui permit à Cambrai d'atteindre, en très peu de temps, une célébrité mondiale égale à celle de Paris. Comme l'intérieur du royaume fut ravagé, la culture française se mit à l'abri des conséquences de la catastrophe qui s'abattit sur le pays de Charles V. Il est, en effet, très normal que le jeune Dufay fut élève à Cambrai avant d'aller faire partie de la chapelle pontificale, cet autre pôle de la tradition française[17].

Le retour du Saint Siège à Rome resserra encore, sans doute, les liens déjà existants à Avignon entre les disciples de la tradition française et les premiers artisans de la Renaissance. Il n'est pas facile à dire si la création de nouveaux centres de la culture musicale à Milan, à Ferrare, à Venise [18], a provoqué la venue en Italie des Cambrésiens, ou bien si la présence des chantres transalpins n'a pas stimulé les princes de la plaine du Pô à peupler leurs maîtrises d'étrangers. Peu importe d'ailleurs: les Cambrésiens, fidèles gardiens de la pensée française, trouvèrent en Italie un élément qui leur manquait et qu'on peut appeler le *naturel*, par rapport à l'*artificiel* (dans le sens médiéval) de la doctrine française. Celle–ci incarna l'esprit médiéval, tandis que la pensée italienne apporta déjà l'orientation de l'homme nouveau, produit de l'humanisme. Grâce à cette fusion, la musique du XV^e^ siècle connut, pendant une période de 60 ans, cet équilibre remarquable dont j'ai parlé plus haut et qui en fit sa caractéristique essentielle, en attendant que la pensée nouvelle, conçue sur l'antique sol de la péninsule, précipitât l'écroulement de la doctrine médiévale, qui ne correspondit plus à l'homme du XVI^e^ siècle.

Ainsi, le style communément appelé franco–flamand (mais que l'on pourrait dénommer, à plus juste titre, franco–italien) n'eût jamais existé sans cette fusion harmonieuse d'éléments contradictoires. Pour que celle–ci s'opérât, il fallut en plus le creuset de l'école des maîtrises, à laquelle aucune institution moderne ne correspond. Aujourd'hui,

[17] Une brillante école exista aussi à Dijon, à la cour du duc de Bourgogne. Je n'en parlerai pas dans cet article, parce que les conditions qui lui ont permis de prospérer étaient les mêmes que celles qui ont fait la fortune de Cambrai. Tandis que cette dernière devint le berceau de toute la musique du XV^e^ siècle, l'école de Dijon sombra avec la magnificence de Philippe le Bon.

[18] Ettore Li Gotti, *La Poesia musicale italiana del secolo XIV*, 69–70, n. 113, parle d'une école bolonaise dont *Mod* (voir plus loin) serait un témoignage.

l'apprenti musicien fréquente un conservatoire, pour y apprendre d'abord les rudiments de son art, et ensuite une technique qui n'a que très indirectement à faire avec la musique, mais que, par une confusion de terminologie caractéristique de l'imprécision de la pensée au XX^e^ siècle, on confond fréquemment avec la musique même [19]. Sorti de cette institution, le « musicien » d'aujourd'hui suit l'un des deux chemins: ou bien il s'enferme dans son univers particulier, meublé de valeurs hiérarchisées suivant une échelle absolument individualiste, dant lequel il crée un langage qui, par définition, ne pourra pas être compris à cause même de son particularisme de valeurs, et où l'incompréhension est prise comme mesure de la musicalité, par un étrange paradoxe qui fait du plus impersonnel des arts (parce que la traduction pure est simple sur un plan sonore du nombre, entité universelle) le véhicule d'une *Weltanschauung* absolument subjective et partant, dénuée de toute valeur, par suite de l'antinomie existant entre le nombre et l'individu; ou bien, il se contente de l'exercice d'une technique qui, parfois, devient un prodige d'agilité, tel que le doigté du pianiste, le souffle du trombone, le gosier du chanteur, mais qui n'a pas plus à faire avec la musique que les roues de prière thibétaines avec la théologie. Par contre, au moyen âge, l'école de chant fut non seulement le conservatoire où le novice s'initia aux premiers principes de la science musicale, mais aussi l'atelier où le maître produisit les chefs-d'œuvres qui furent immédiatement compris de son entourage. Par quel processus de pédagogie réussirent-ils, jadis, à obtenir des résultats d'une aussi harmonieuse perfection ? Voilà ce que nous allons essayer de découvrir dans les lignes qui vont suivre.

J'ai affirmé, au début de cette étude, que la musique fut tenue au moyen âge pour une science dont les secrets ne purent être communiqués qu'à bon escient, et à des personnes jugées dignes de les recevoir. Le mécanisme essentiel de l'ésotérisme musical médiéval fut, sans conteste, la notation. Celle-ci joua un rôle absolument sans correspondance dans la musique moderne, car elle ne fut pas simplement l'assemblage de signes conventionnels qui permirent à un compositeur de fixer son œuvre, mais, par une accumulation des raisonnements les plus subtils, par une substructure logique la plus solide, par un réseau complexe de doubles sens, la notation mensuraliste de la fin du moyen âge, en

[19] Une caricature que j'ai vue, je ne sais plus où, exprima d'une façon admirable cette triste confusion de termes: deux musiciens d'un grand orchestre bavardaient à voix basse pendant un *tacet* de leur pupitre. L'un chuchotait à l'autre, sa voix couverte par l'orage des violons déchainés: « Le drame, c'est que je n'aime pas la musique ».

résumant toutes les opérations de l'esprit fondées sur le nombre, devint, à elle seule, un cours complet de musique – en répondant par son essence à cette question qui ouvre tant de traités: *quid est musica* ? – et une des créations les plus immatérielles du cerveau humain [20]. Le théoricien Johannes Verulus de Anagnia définit exactement le rôle central de la notation en pédagogie musicale, lorsqu'il expliqua, au premier chapitre de son traité (malheureusement rendu incompréhensible par des nombreuses fautes de lecture dans la version que Coussemaker a publiée): *Et dicitur nota a nosco, noscis, quia per ipsam noscitur quicquid in arte musice agitur* [21].

La principale étude donc, dans toutes les écoles des maîtrises, fut celle de la notation. Au bout des nombreuses années nécessaires à l'assimilation d'une matière aussi hermétique [22], l'élève aborda l'étude du

[20] M. Apel (*The Notation of polyphonic music*, 85) a totalement faussé le problème de la notation mensuraliste. Dès les premières pages de son ouvrage, il apporte à l'examen de celle-ci un esprit moderne qui ne peut qu'être gêné par les complexités qui, naturellement, paraissent inutiles à la réalisation du but d'une notation d'après nos conceptions. Sur la base de ce malentendu, les remarques de M. Apel sont parfaitement logiques mais, ou bien il n'a pas compris, ou bien il a négligé de dire (ce qui revient au même pour le lecteur) que l'objet de *l'ars mensurabilis* n'était pas simplement celui de communiquer une pièce musicale à l'exécutant, mais également d'entourer la science d'une protection efficace contre la curiosité illicite des non-initiés. En cela, la notation mensuraliste fut absolument adéquate. Malgré cette protection contre le profane, la divulgation des secrest de l'art atteignait, au cours du XIV[e] siècle, une proportion telle que les maîtres ne manquaient pas de s'en inquiéter. Le motet *In virtute nominum* (ms. de la Bibl. cap. d'Ivrée, fol. 55 *v*°) et les madrigaux *Osseletto selvaggio* de Iacobus, *Dolgo mi a voi* de Laurentius et *Musica son che mi dolgo piangendo* de Franciscus expriment ces soucis d'une manière éloquente. La fausse perspective de l'ouvrage de M. Apel est encore mise en évidence par l'ordre antichronologique de ses démonstrations, car il commence par expliquer la notation blanche avant d'aborder la notation noire, ce qui crée une complication artificielle qui s'ajoute à toutes les autres, réelles celles-ci, dont l'auteur n'apprécie pas la portée.

[21] Ms. Rome, Bibl. Vat., Barb. lat. 307, fol. 1*r*° (*CS*, 3, 129*b*). Que l'on ne se trompe pas sur la signification du terme *arte musice*; il s'agit ici de la *pratique* et non pas de la spéculation.

[22] Je ne connais pas de texte qui me permette d'assigner une durée à cette étude; celle-ci devait dépendre dans une grande mesure de l'aptitude intellectuelle de l'élève. Nous savons par les peintures contemporaines, aussi bien que par les traités élémentaires, que les enfants non encore mués chantaient *super librum*. Cependant, ils devaient certainement être guidés par quelques sopranistes adultes, et ils demandaient peut-être à leur mémoire de suppléer à l'insuffisance de leurs connaissances notationnelles. Il convient de mentionner ici, en lui rendant hommage, frater Georgius, mort à Pise à l'âge de 14 ans et qui pouvait déjà déchiffrer les textes les plus obscurs (Bonaini *édit. Chronica del convento di S. Catarina di Pisa* dans *Arch. stor. ital.*, 6[2], 534).

contrepoint et s'il s'en était rendu digne, celle de la composition. Ces deux dernières disciplines furent naturellement réservées aux sujets les plus exceptionnels. L'éducation de la plupart des élèves des maîtrises se borna à l'étude de la notation et à quelques exercices pour l'assouplissement de la voix. A ma connaissance, aucune chronique ne nous a conservé le programme d'études d'une école de maîtrise médiévale. Neanmoins, grâce à certains manuscrits et, pour le XV^e^ siècle, à certains traités de musique, nous pouvons reconstituer assez précisément ce que dût être non seulement la matière enseignée, mais aussi le mode d'enseignement. Parmi les monuments échappés à la corrosion du temps, je vais en choisir trois qui me serviront d'exemples à l'exposition qui doit suivre. Dans l'ordre chronologique, ce sont:

1) le ms. 1047 du musée Condé de Chantilly (*Ch*);

2) le ms. M. 5. 24 (L. 568) de la Bibl. Estense de Modène (*Mod*);

3) le traité, imprimé en 1552, *Compendium musices* d'Adrian Petit Coclico.

Ces trois documents sont capables de nous dire assez précisément comment, du XIV^e^ au XV^e^ siècle, le novice s'initiait aux secrets de la science musicale.

Ch fut copié au cours de la première décade du XV^e^ siècle par un scribe italien. Les pièces qui composent ce recueil furent toutes composées dans la seconde moitié du XIV^e^ siècle. Nous pourrons dater assez précisément certaines d'entre elles (dans un cas, au fol. 26 *v*°, le manuscrit lui-même transcrit la date de composition: « compilatum fuit parisius anno domini m̊ ccc. sexagesimo nono »; c'est la date la plus ancienne que nous nous pouvons fixer pour une pièce du recueil, mais elle n'est pas un *terminus ad quem*). La date la plus récente que nous pouvons assigner, avec probabilité, est celle de 1389 pour la ballade *En seumeillant m'avint une vesion* de Trebor, qui se réfère vraisemblablement à l'expédition menée en cette année par le roi Jean d'Aragon contre la Sardaigne. La grande majorité des œuvres contenues dans ce manuscrit sont précédées d'un nom de compositeur. Parmi ceux-ci, presque tous (23 sur 30) sont français, 3 sont sûrement italiens et 4 sont d'origine incertaine. Une caractéristique témoigne d'un goût très personnel de la part du compilateur, et donne au manuscrit une étrange homogéneité: presque sans exception, toutes les œuvres rassemblées par *Ch* constituent de déconcertantes énigmes en ce qui concerne la notation. Pour la musicologie moderne, ce manuscrit représente l'épreuve décisive de celui qui veut s'attribuer une compétence dans le

déchiffrage de l'art mensuraliste[23]. Ce n'est pas un simple hasard que de trouver les pièces les plus difficiles du XIVe siècle ainsi réunies. Une seule explication éclaire le critérium adopté pour la confection de ce recueil: indubitablement, le manuscrit servit de livre d'école à un groupe de chanteurs particulièrement expérimentés, probablement la maîtrise attachée à la cour d'un souverain. L'élégance du volume (qui, pourtant, avait perdu sa reliure lors de l'acquisition en 1861 par le duc d'Aumale[24]) et l'extrême difficulté des œuvres qu'il contient, aussi bien que le nombre et la qualité des compositeurs appartenant à l'école dont le manuscrit est sorti (et qui se distinguait aisément des auteurs, tels Machaut, Grimace et Vaillant, dont la musique a été empruntée à une autre tradition) permettent de supposer que le recueil fut destiné à une cour souveraine de quelque importance. L'absence de toute musique liturgique prouve qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une école écclésiastique. Aucun indice ne nous permet de préciser de quelle maîtrise ou de quelle cour il s'agit; cinq (peut–être six) pièces du recueil célèbrent Gaston Phébus, comte de Foix (mort en 1391), une ballade déplore la mort en 1382 d'Eléonor d'Aragon, une autre se réfère à l'expédition de Louis d'Anjou à Naples en 1380, deux œuvres prennent partie pour l'antipape Clément VII (Robert de Genève, qui prétendit régner de 1378 à 1394 et qui fit, on le sait, un séjour à Naples), un motet évoque l'appel à la croisade de Grégoire XI. D'un autre côté, on y trouve une ballade en l'honneur de Jean, duc de Berry, et plusieurs œuvres de Machaut. C'est ici également qu'est copiée la double ballade d'Andrieu pour déplorer la mort de Guillaume de Machaut, survenue en 1377. Je ne puis exposer ici, sans outrepasser le but de cet article, toutes les raisons qui m'ont amené à croire que *Ch* fut compilé et copié à Naples. Qu'il suffise de dire que le choix de cette ville, siège de la monarchie angevine et centre de culture française, n'est contredit par aucun des éléments intrinsèques du codex, et par contre, il peut les expliquer tous. Une impulsion particulière avait été donnée à la musique dès la première moitie du XIVe siècle par Robert d'Anjou à qui Marchettus de Padua avait dedié son *Pomerium*. Le manuscrit d'Ivrée, déjà mentionné, contient deux motets

[23] Gustave Reese. *Music of the Middle Ages*, 358, n. 78, déclare à ce sujet que « some of the problems it presents have not yet been solved » (cf. F. Ludwig, *G. de Machaut. Musikal. Werke. Einl.*, 23*). Une transcription complète du codex, préparée par moi, est actuellement en cours de publication. J'espère avoir apporté une solution correcte à toutes les énigmes de cette notation.

[24] *Chantilly. Le Cabinet des livres. Manuscrits*, 2, 278.

(l'un en l'honneur du roi Robert, l'autre à la gloire de s. Louis de Toulouse) qui témoignent aussi d'une vie musicale napolitaine, dont *Ch* serait le point culminant. Toutefois, je sais bien que d'autres endroits pourraient également expliquer l'ensemble des données fournies par notre document. Quoi qu'il en soit, *Ch* fut un instrument pédagogique splendide entre les mains d'un maître de chapelle singulièrement éclairé.

Analysons maintenant le contenu spécifique du codex. La notation de *Ch* se divise en deux classes:

a) la notation française ordinaire, semblable à celle employée par Guillaume de Machaut;

b) la notation franco-italienne élaborée en Italie au cours de la seconde moitié du XIV^e^ siècle, dans une ou deux écoles au plus, qui avaient subi d'une façon si marquée l'influence française qu'on peut les considérer comme appartenant tout entière à la tradition française, et étrangères à l'influence italienne qui rayonna de Florence et de la Vénétie. Il serait difficile de situer ces écoles ailleurs qu'à Naples, en Savoie, ou, à la rigueur, à Bologne[25]. Naples fut alors la ville italienne la plus *naturellement* soumise aux pures influences françaises et coupée par toute la situation politique des mouvements culturels du centre et du nord de la péninsule[26].

Le caractère essentiel de cette notation est la recherche de nouvelles figures afin d'exprimer d'une façon logique les complexités rythmiques toujours grandissantes de la musique de cette école. A l'exception de la semi-minime, tous les signes employés dans la notation pour exprimer le fractionnement de la minime, faisaient figure d'expériments. Par conséquent, leur signification variait, non seulement d'auteur en auteur mais parfois d'une partie à l'autre de l'œuvre d'un même compositeur. Ainsi dans deux pièces de Guido, *Or voit tout en aventure* et *Dieux gart qui bien le chantera*[27], la valeur de la semi-minime est exprimée tantôt par , tantôt par ; dans *En remirant vo douce portraiture* de Philipotus de Caserta, la figure égale 2-¼ minimes,

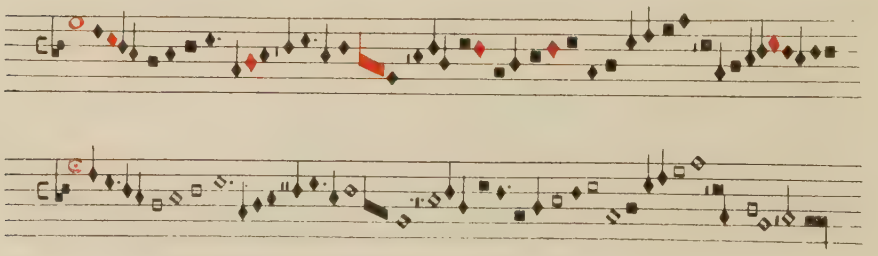
[25] M. Pirrotta est, je crois, le premier à avoir localisé l'école bolonaise. L'étude de *Mod* m'avait suggéré depuis longtemps la même idée. Je ne connais les théories de ce savant italien que par une brève citation dans Li Gotti, *loc. cit.*

[26] A la lumière de cette hypothèse, il n'est pas étonnant de constater que l'un des traités qui exposent les particularités de cette notation franco-italienne, le *Tractatus de diversis figuris* (*CS*, 3, 118-124) fut rédigée par Philipotus de Caserta.

[27] Cette dernière publiée par J. Wolf, *Geschichte d. Mensural-Notation*, 2 et 3, n° 64.

mais dans *Il n'est nulz homs en ce monde vivant*, elle représente une semi-brève diminuée du tiers. Je pourrais citer beaucoup d'autres cas de ce phénomène. Une autre particularité de cette seconde notation de *Ch* est l'usage presqu'abusif du rouge. Il est loin d'être infréquent que de trouver certaines voix dont la majorité des notes sont coloriées et dans un cas (la contreteneur de *O bonne douce Franse*) toutes les notes de la voix sont rubricisées. En outre, l'usage de notes demi-rouges est assez répandu. Enfin, la complexité rythmique subtile de cette école franco-italienne rendit inévitable l'usage fréquent de signes de mesure, dont les théoriciens parlaient souvent, mais que l'on ne trouve point chez Machaut et bien rarement chez Philippe de Vitry, et obligea les musiciens à rédiger de nombreux canons.

Voilà, très brièvement résumées, les espèces de difficultés accumulées par *Ch*, afin de mettre à l'épreuve les connaissances du chanteur et de lui fournir des exercices d'assouplissement, non pas de la voix, mais de l'esprit. Les auteurs y avaient rassemblé le fruit de leurs expériences, et ainsi, comme c'est souvent le cas au moyen âge, l'exercice du chanteur et du compositeur se confondaient. Ce n'est pas mon intention de faire ici un exposé de la notation de *Ch*, mais simplement de faire comprendre la nature de la pédagogie employée dans l'école qui s'était servi de ce manuscrit, peut-être la première institution où la doctrine française s'était laissé entamer par l'humanisme italien. Il serait instructif de traduire les pièces de *Ch* en une notation mensuraliste usuelle; alors on saisirait toute l'importance didactique du recueil. Je ne peux pas le faire ici, mais en terminant, je signalerai l'un des exercices les plus élégants du manuscrit, la troisième partie de la double ballade *Je m'emerveil aucune fois comment – J'ay pluseurs fois pour mon esbatement* de « Jacomi » (Jacopinus Selesses), où le même rythme est noté de deux façons diverses pour les deux voix supérieures. Voici un fac-similé de cette mensuration bimorphe:



Examinons le deuxième de nos documents scolaires, le manuscrit *Mod.* Ce recueil a, depuis longtemps, excité la curiosité des érudits[28] à cause de la complexité de sa notation, comparable à celle de *Ch*, et à cause du grand nombre d'*unica* qu'il contient. C'est par lui seulement que nous connaissons le compositeur si fertile, Matheus de Perusio[29], qui fut nommé chantre de la cathédrale de Milan le 3 septembre 1402 au solde annuel de 48 florins[30]. Parmi les obligations de cette charge, il y eut celle d'enseigner gratuitement l'art musical (le terme a déjà une sonorité moderne) à trois garçons compétents choisis par les députés. Il n'est donc pas invraisemblable de voir dans beaucoup de pièces de *Mod* de véritables exercices de notation mensuraliste, la contrepartie, si on pouvait faire un parallèle aussi simpliste, des cours de solfège actuels[31]. En fait, cette explication est la seule qui éclaire certaines particularités du manuscrit. Dès le premier feuillet, on est frappé par un détail qui serait incompréhensible en dehors du cadre scolaire: la teneur du motet *Ave sancta mundi salus*, un Agnus dei grégorien[32] est copié sur le verso du premier folio non chiffré, avec le canon suivant: « Tenor dicitur de secundo modo primo, postea gradatim, secundo et tertio, diminuitur ». Il est extraordinaire de trouver, au seuil du XV^e^ siècle, une référence à un mode rythmique de l'*ars antiqua*. Le canon de cette teneur devait mettre à l'épreuve les connaissances classiques de l'élève (car les figures de cette voix n'ont aucune signification rythmique) en même temps que ses aptitudes à diminuer les valeurs qui n'étaient même pas écrites, mais qu'il devait déterminer mentalement d'après une notation qui ne lui livrait que la mélodie. Plus loin, au fol. 3 *v*°–4 *r*°, on rencontre aux deux voix supérieures d'un Gloria isorythmique des points de repère en forme de chiffres placés au début de chaque période isorythmique. A ma connaissance, c'est

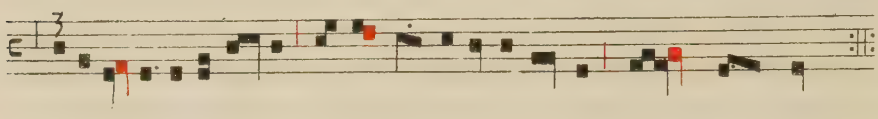
[28] G. Bertoni, « Poesie musicali francesi » dans *Archivum romanicum*, I (1917), 21–57; H. Besseler dans *AfM*, 7 (1925), 230; *Catal. delle op. mus.* (*Boll. dell'Assoc. dei musicol. ital.*), ser. 8, punt. 21 (1923), 522–524; Fr. Ludwig, *G. de Machaut. Musikal. Werke. Einleit.*, 30* ss.; *SIMG*, 4 (1904), 21, 44, 59; 6 (1906), 605, 616–618; *Adler's Hdb.*, (2. Ausg.), I, 291; Wolf, *Geschichte d. Mensural-Notation*, I, 335–339.

[29] Son prénom n'est mentionné en entier qu'une seule fois dans le manuscrit, au fol. 45 *v*°, à propos de la contreteneur de la ballade *Je ne requier de ma dame et m'amie* de Grenon.

[30] Damiano Muoni, « Gli antignati organari insigni colla serie dei maestri di cappella del duomo di Milano » dans *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 10 (1883), 210.

[31] L'hypothèse a déjà été exprimée par Ludwig, *SIMG*, 6 (1906), 605.

[32] *Grad. rom.*, n° 4; ici la mélodie est du 6ème mode, tandis que chez Matheus, elle est du 8ème.

l'unique fois où la périodicité d'une pièce isorythmique se trouve si clairement signalée. Il n'y a aucun doute que ces chiffres ne dûssent servir à orienter les chanteurs et à faire ressortir la construction de l'œuvre pour ceux qui étudiaient la composition. La contreteneur du même Gloria est précédée du chiffre « 2 » et la teneur du chiffre « 3 ». Ces chiffres indiquent la mensuration de la longue: dans le premier cas, il s'agit du mode imparfait; dans le deuxième, du mode parfait. Cette teneur est également fournie par un Agnus dei grégorien[33] dont l'expression graphique constitue un beau problème de l'art mensuraliste; l'élève qui réussit à le résoudre put se considérer familiarisé avec toutes les difficultés de cette seméiographie si élégamment rationaliste. Voici d'abord un fac-similé de la teneur:

et voici maintenant le raisonnement qui dut conduire l'exécutant à une mensuration correcte des figures (les chiffres seuls se réfèrent aux notes; aucun compte n'est tenu des ligatures):

2 est altérée parce que la deuxième de deux brèves entre deux longues (quoique la première longue soit imparfaite et remplacée par un silence).
3 est parfaite en vertu de la règle *Similis ante similem perfecta.*
4 est imparfaite parce que rouge.
Le point après 5 amène l'alteration de 7.
8 est imparfaite par position et reçoit sa perfection de 5.
Chacune des deux longues composant 10 est imperfectisée par 9 et 11 respectivement.

Composée de 6 longues parfaites et de 2 longues imparfaites, la taille de cette teneur n'a pas de dénominateur commun. On peut se demander pourquoi le silence de longue imparfaite au début n'est pas rouge comme le sont les silences correspondants des autres tailles. Je crois que sa position initiale a permis aux notateurs de ne pas rubriciser ce signe; on emarquera bien que le chiffre « 3 » indiquant le mode parfait est placé *après* ce silence. Le rouge des silences correspondants des autres périodes n'est pas superflu, comme on pourrait le croire: il signifie que les deux brèves constituant cette pause ne sont

[33] *Grad. rom.*, n° 17.

pas les deux premiers éléments d'une longue parfaite; subsidiairement, ils servent de points de repère pour le début de chaque période. Ceci n'est pas nécessaire pour le premier silence, puisque le comput ternaire ne commence qu'après lui.

Voilà donc le genre d'exercice proposé par les maîtres de chant à leurs élèves. En fait, même à l'époque, on aurait pu noter cette teneur d'une manière plus simple, mais grâce aux assises solides du raisonnement qui l'a produite, l'esprit de l'élève fut sollicité à chaque instant de faire usage de ces facultés qui sont, parmi les parties constitutives du cerveau humain, les plus rapprochées de ce qui est en dehors du temps et de l'espace, dont le véhicule usuel est le nombre. Les limites de cet article m'interdisant de pousser plus loin l'analyse de la psychologie sous-jacente à *Mod*, je dirai seulement que presque chaque page de cet admirable manuscrit offrit au chanteur désireux de se perfectionner, de semblables occasions d'affiner son esprit par l'assouplissement de ces parties les plus éloignées de la matière. Le but de tels exercices dépasse de beaucoup celui d'une simple gymnastique cérébrale. On comprend immédiatement la différence psychologique essentielle entre ce mode d'enseignement et celui, pratiquée aujourd'hui, d'une notation qui a le mérite douteux d'être simple et claire: la conséquence inéluctable de cette claire simplicité est d'engendrer dans l'esprit de l'élève un mécanisme – puisque les phénomènes de notre graphie musicale sont constants – dont l'effet est par essence abrutissant: la technique, devenue reflexe, se développe aux dépens des facultés rationnelles. Le disciple de Matheus de Perusio n'eut jamais à craindre semblable écueil.

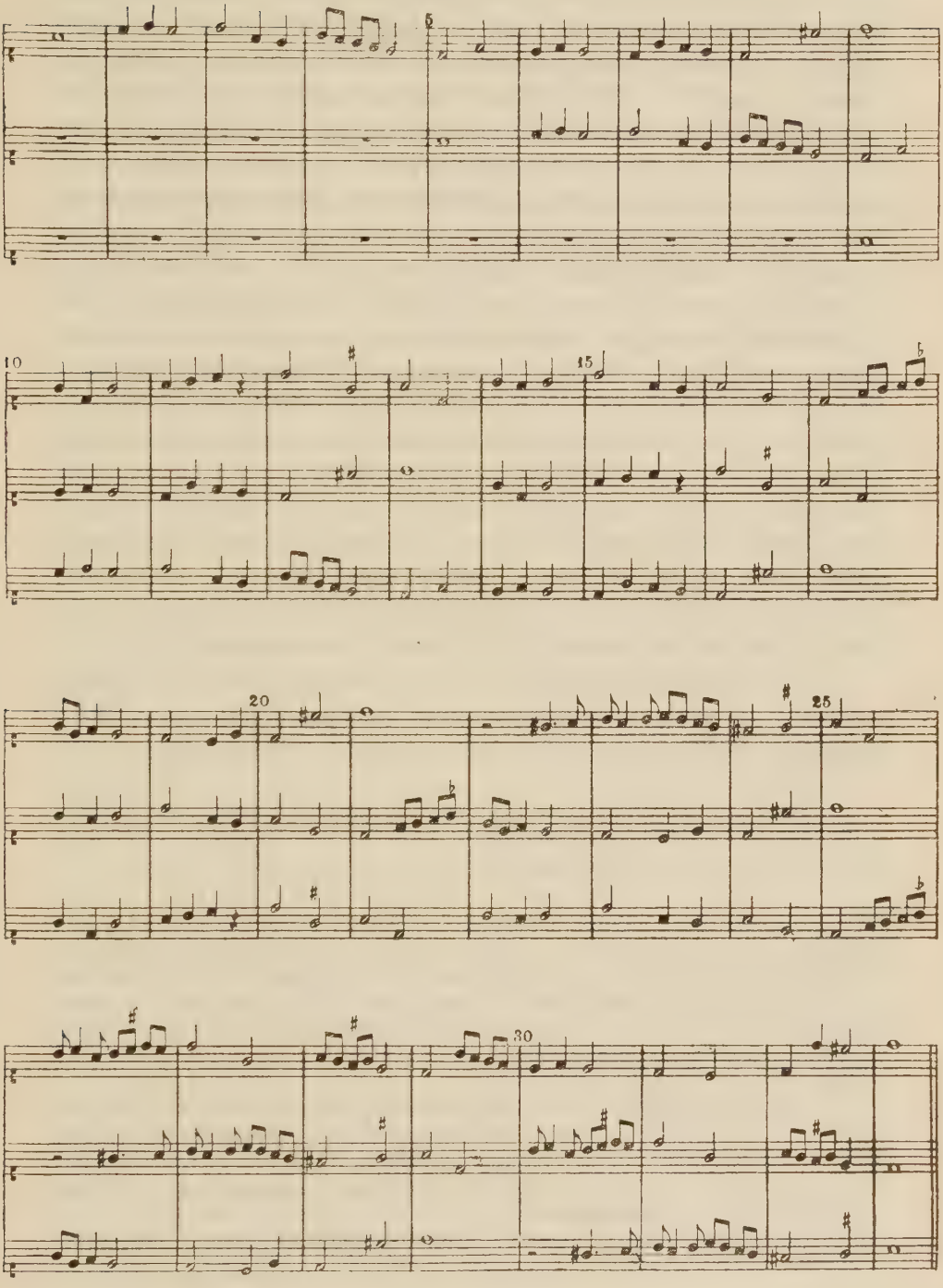
Il me reste à expliquer rapidement en quoi les complexités de *Mod* diffèrent de celles de *Ch*. Tout d'abord, dans le premier cas que nous avons examiné, il s'agit d'une école française influencée par les Italiens. *Mod*, par contre, est le livre d'une tradition italienne ayant subi de fortes influences transalpines. Le répertoire de *Ch* est entièrement séculier; celui de *Mod* comprend un large choix de pièces liturgiques et religieuses, qui permettent de supposer qu'il sortit du *Scriptorium* d'une école écclésiastique. Enfin, *Ch* nous a conservé une série d'expériences faites par des compositeurs en vue de varier et d'élargir autant que possible le rythme et d'enrichir la notation de nouvelles figures. Cet élément expérimental existe moins dans *Mod*. Les auteurs des pièces caractéristiques du recueil (surtout Matheus) écrivaient manifestement pour le jeune chanteur, et même, comme nous le ver-

rons plus loin, établissaient des versions spéciales de certaines piecès dans un but pédagogique, ou bien composaient des œuvres dépourvues de toute signification (tel le canon de Johannes Ciconia *Quod iactatur*[84] en dehors de leur intérêt didactique, soit qu'elles mettaient à l'épreuve les connaissances techniques de l'élève, soit qu'elles lui proposaient des modèles d'écriture canonique qui pouvaient lui servir d'exemples pour ses études de solmisation, de contrepoint et de composition. Telle fut certainement la raison d'être du petit canon à 3 voix de Matheus, dont une seule voix est copiée en bas du fol. 40 *v*° avec la poésie suivante:

Andray soulet au mielz que je pouray
ju⟨s⟩que a le tamps primier de *la–sol–ré*,
lors tu prendras desus A *la–mi–ré*;
s'ainsi fera le tierz, canterons gay.

Cette petite pièce est un exercice de solmisation à l'adresse des enfants (le canon est à l'unison pour trois dessus). Le premier garçon chante seul jusqu'à la note E, prononcée *mi* (*mielz* = *mi*, *E licet*). Alors le second garçon débute sur la note A dont la muance est *la–mi–ré*, tandis que l'autre fait la muance *la–sol–ré* sur la note D (*de*) qui tombe au premier des deux temps constituant le mètre modal de la pièce. Le troisième enfant fait de même pour compléter le contrepoint à 3 voix. Voici maintenant la transcription de ce petit canon:

[84] Publié par Joh. Wolf dans *Tijdschr. der Ver. voor N. N. M.*, Deel 7, 208.


5
10
15
20
25
30

Avec le traité *Compendium musices* d'Adrian Petit Coclico, publié à Nuremberg en 1552, nous nous trouvons sur un terrain infiniment plus familier. Le compilateur de cette œuvre, dont nous verrons tout à l'heure le caractère singulier, fut un chanteur flamand formé par Josquin des Prés[35]. Vers la fin de sa vie, il rédigea, à l'usage des enfants allemands qui se destinaient à la musique, un manuel où il prétendit exposer la pure doctrine de Josquin en matière de formation musicale. Comme son ouvrage est destiné aux néophytes allemands du XVI^e siècle, le musicien moderne pourra espérer y comprendre au moins l'orientation envers la musique de l'homme d'autrefois, car notre formation musicale, dans la mesure qu'il s'agit de musique et non pas des accessoires de la musique (pas même des « accidents » au sens scolastique du mot), s'arrête là où celle de l'apprenti de l'époque de Josquin commençait[36]. La personnalité de l'auteur de ce petit traité est par surcroit une garantie de l'authenticité josquinienne du contenu: Adrian Petit Coclico fut un chanteur dépourvu d'imagination, d'un talent musical médiocre, sur lequel la personnalité gigantesque de Josquin avait laissé une empreinte ineffaçable. Pour nous, il représente un miroir de petites dimensions, quelque peu terni, mais qui reflète quand même, avec une fidélité photographique, cette partie de l'enseignement du Maître que le simplisme du cerveau de l'élève a pu emmagasiner[37].

Dès l'exorde de son ouvrage, le vieux chanteur s'élève contre l'hégémonie de la théorie qui, comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, devait disparaître avec le moyen âge[38]. L'élève qui désire apprendre la musique

[35] Ce n'est pas ici l'endroit de tracer la bibliographie de ce chanteur. Une récente étude réunit tout ce que l'on sait sur lui à ce sujet: M. van Crevel, *Adrianus Petit Coclico. Leben u. Beziehungen eines nach Deutschlande migrierten Josquinschülers*. Haag, 1940.

[36] Il est bien connu que les pays de culture germanique furent en retard d'un siècle ou deux sur les pays de culture latine, et cela depuis le haut moyen âge. Il suffirait de citer le ms. Engelberg 314 (J. Handschin, « Angelomontana polyphonica » dans *Schweiz. Jhb. f. Musikw.*, 3 [1928], 64–96. Fr. Ludwig, « Die Mehrstimmigen Werke d. Hs. Eng. 314 » dans *Kmjhb.*, 21 [1908], 38 ss.) daté de 1372 mais contenant une notation abandonnée en France depuis le milieu du XIII^e siècle. Par conséquent, la date de 1552 sur un ouvrage imprimé à Nuremberg correspond *au plus tard* au dernier tiers du XV^e siècle en France.

[37] Adrian Petit Coclico est aux antipodes de cet autre commentateur de Josquin, Glarian. Certes, ce dernier comprit mieux l'immensité du chanoine de Condé, mais dans le *Dodekachordon*, nous ne touchons à Josquin qu'à travers la forte personnalité du Suisse, tandis que la pauvreté spirituelle d'Adrian est une assurance de fidélité, quoi qu'une cause de simplification.

[38] Fol. Bi *v*°: *Videam artis huius usum in canendo potius quam multitudine praeceptorum esse positum.*

se contentera d'assimiler la séméiographie indispensable, et ensuite, sous l'égide d'un maître judicieusement choisi, s'appliquera pendant longtemps à la pratique, en se fondant sur l'effet sonore de son exercice[39]. Mais, malgré tout son désir de simplification, Adrian n'eut pas la possibilité d'abolir tout ce que les siècles avaient amassé de complications graphiques, à laquelle le système guidonien de solmisation faisait un digne pendant, et, curieusement, on ne trouve même pas la trace chez notre auteur des simplifications apportées à la notation à partir de 1520, car en bon élève de Josquin devenu un maître pour des allemands attardés, il continue à exposer tout l'arsenal des ligatures, dont la plupart était en train d'être abandonnée. De même, on y trouve un chapitre consacré aux proportions, que l'usage, de plus en plus généralisé, du temps imparfait diminué, rendait absolument superflu. Si Petit Coclico n'avait pas eu son cerveau définitivement cristallisé par l'enseignement de son maître, il se serait rendu compte de l'incohérence existant entre son intention de rédiger un manuel simple et l'inclusion dans le manuel de matières appartenant à un système qui, même sans la désapprobation du chantre flamand, était en train de faire place à un autre. Il n'en fut rien cependant, et l'honnête bourgeois transmit fidèlement à la jeunesse teutonique la totalité de son bagage technique, ramassé de la bouche du plus sublime des musiciens. Cette constatation nous permet donc d'affirmer que même la partie du *Compendium* qui semble contenir des nouveautés, ne renferme, elle aussi, qu'un enseignement établi avant l'année 1500. Je parle du chapitre consacré à la pratique diversement connue sous le nom de *diminution* ou de *colorature* et qui consistait à orner par de rapides vocalises des

39 Fol. Bii *v°*: *Aures enim . . . sunt vere artis canendi magistra.* Toute la nouveauté de la doctrine du *Compendium* est résumée par cette phrase inouïe, que l'unanimité de l'ancienne tradition ne manqua jamais de condamner à l'avance. Pourtant, ne nous trompons pas sur la signification qu'Adrian voulut donner à ses principes directeurs, et ne traduisons pas en disant que la satisfaction de l'oreille est le critérium de la bonne musique. Comme l'ensemble de cette étude s'efforce de l'établir, l'époque de Josquin fut celle de l'équilibre absolu, entre la théorie et la pratique. Les fils d'Ockeghem incarnèrent la théorie et purent se référer à leurs oreilles, parce que celles-ci *étaient* la théorie même et non pas le produit de la théorie. Adrian sous-entend tout ceci quand il prend la peine de rappeler que Josquin n'écrivit jamais de traité musical (fol. Fii *v°*: *Item praeceptor meus Iosquinus de Pratis nullam . . . scripsit Musicam*). Ce qui, aujourd'hui, signifie anarchie et fantaisie arbitraire ne fut, sous la plume de cet émule de Josquin, que la constatation de l'unique harmonie des musiciens de son époque, ce qui est le secret même de leur inégalable grandeur.

parties déterminées de la ligne mélodique de certaines voix[40]. Ce qu'il y a de neuf ici est le fait d'avoir exprimé par écrit une pratique que jusqu'alors aucun théoricien ne daigna traiter, mais qui remonte à une certaine antiquité[41]. Soyons heureux de posséder un témoignage de la pratique ornementale du temps de Josquin, mais que cela ne nous empêche pas de constater la modification essentielle de la pédagogie musicale écrite[42]. Par ce chapitre, qui figurera désormais dans beaucoup de manuels semblables, le premier pas a été fait vers notre méthode de chant moderne. Adrian fut à la fois trop honnête et trop stupide pour se rendre compte de l'inutilité d'une partie de son œuvre et de l'hétérodoxie de l'autre partie.

La dernière section du traité expose les principes de composition comme Josquin lui-même les avait enseignés[43]. Après avoir nommé les deux espèces (c'est-à-dire, accords) parfaites (unisson et quinte) et les deux espèces imparfaites (tierce et sixte), Adrian conseille aux jeunes compositeurs de se procurer une ardoise[44] et d'y inscrire un con-

[40] Fol. Hiii *v°*: *De elegantia et ornatu aut pronuntiatione in canendo.*

[41] *Mod* contient une version d'un Credo de Zacharias (ff. 23 *v°*–25 *r°*), dont la première voix est chargée de diminutions, comme il ressort de la collation avec la leçon du même Credo fourni par le ms. Bologne, Liceo musicale, Q. 15 (*olim* 37), ff. 88 *v°*–90 *r°*. La comparaison des sources de la musique composée dans la première moitié du XIV^e^ siècle révèle d'autres cas de cette pratique, par exemple le madrigal *Sedendo all'ombra d'una bella mandorla* de Iohannes de Florentia dans ms. Florence, B. N., Panc. 26, ff. 52 *v°*–53 *r°* (version diminuée) et le ms. Florence, Bibl. Laur., Pal. 87, fol. 2 *v°* (version non diminuée; il est à remarquer qu'ici la source la plus récente livre la version la plus simple), ou bien le madrigal *Quando l'aire comença a farse bruno* dans le ms. Florence, B. N., Panc. 26, ff. 57 *v°*–58 *r°* et le ms. Rome, Bib. vat., Rossi 215, fol. 7 *v°* (ici, les variantes entre les deux versions ont indiscutablement une signification ornementale).

[42] Seulement douze ans avant la parution du *Compendium musices*, Sebaldus Heyden publia dans la même ville de Nuremberg son *De arte canendi*. Malgré le titre, ce livre est un traité de musique pure, sans aucune concession à la conception qui devait prendre corps dans l'ouvrage de Petit Coclico. Pour Heyden, l'art des chantres consiste en l'assimilation de toutes les matières de l'ancienne notation et non pas en une gymnastique du gosier.

[43] Fol. Iiii *r°*: *De regula contrapuncti secundum doctrinam Iosquini de Pratis.*

[44] L'ardoise paraît avoir été l'instrument usuel des compositeurs, sur lesquels ils notaient le brouillon de leurs œuvres encore à naître. Guillaume Cretin, dans sa *Plainte sur le trespas de feu maistre Jehan Braconnier, dit Lourdault, chantre*, s'écrie:

Nostre bon pere et maistre Prioris
prenez l'ardoyse et de vostre faczon
composez cy ung « ne recorderis »

(*Œuvres poétiques de Guillaume Crétin publiées avec une introduction et des notes par Kathleen Chesney*, 215).

trepoint simple sur une teneur prise au chant grégorien. Lorsqu'il aura atteint une certaine compétence dans cet exercice, l'élève pourra improviser à vue le contrepoint sur les teneurs liturgiques. A la suite de cette directive, Adrian donne quelques bons et mauvais exemples contrapuntiques afin que l'élève sache ce qu'il convient de faire et de ne pas faire. L'ouvrage termine par l'énoncé de sept règles de composition, suivies d'un grand nombre d'exemples fabriqués par Adrian lui-même. Comme ces règles résument l'essentiel de la doctrine positive de l'élève de Josquin, et remontent probablement à un enseignement oral du Maître, j'en donnerai ici une traduction de chacune, en omettant les développements et les exemples musicaux qui les accompagnent:

« Premièrement, le bon compositeur doit savoir improviser un contrepoint; sans quoi, sa compétence sera nulle.

« Deuxièmement, il faut qu'il soit poussé à la composition par un grand désir, et qu'il soit amené à composer par un certain penchant naturel, au point de ne pas vouloir ni boire ni manger avant d'avoir terminé sa chanson. Car on fait davantage en une heure, stimulé par un tel désir, qu'autrement dans tout un mois. Les compositeurs qui ne connaissent pas ces inspirations sont donc sans valeur.

« Troisièmement, qu'il sache employer les accords parfaits et imparfaits au bon endroit, comme il a été enseigné au chapitre du contrepoint. Car la règle de composition diffère peu de la règle du contrepoint. La règle de composition est plus libre, et elle permet plus de choses qu'en contrepoint. Car les mauvais accords, à savoir, la seconde, la quarte et leurs équivalences, vont très bien en composition, à condition qu'ils soient couverts par l'octave ou la sixte à la basse; ceci s'appelle Faux-bourdon en français, ce qui signifie que les mauvais accords aux voix supérieures sont couverts par la sixte ou l'octave de la basse . . .

« Quatrièmement, il faut exiger du compositeur, après qu'il ait bien appris les accords, qu'il fasse attention au ton dans lequel il doit composer son œuvre, car le musicien qui ignore les tons réguliers et irréguliers, doit être taxé d'ignorance et d'incompétence. Il aura grand soin donc qu'à la teneur le ton ne dépasse pas la tessiture qui lui est propre, et il ne fera pas un dessus qui chevauche d'un ton à l'autre, ou qui soit inchantable, dépourvu de modestie et d'agrément, mais il cherchera une sonorité harmonieuse plutôt qu'une musique obscure, bizarre et insolite, afin qu'elle plaise aux auditeurs sans fournir une occasion à disputes.

« Cinquièmement, le compositeur doit bien observer la mesure et le battement indiqués par les signes, à savoir, ceux de la prolation, . . . du mode, . . . des temps ⟨ternaire⟩ . . . et binaire, . . . de la proportion . . . de l'augmentation

et de la diminution, car ceux-ci ont pour effet de modifier la valeur du signe au départ de l'œuvre. Si l'on n'observe pas la mesure indiquée par ces signes, on se trompe lourdement, on se perd à la fin de chaque voix, on montre son incompétence en musique, et, comme la chouette, on périt par une faute de jugement.

« Sixièmement, il convient que le compositeur médite bien quel ton ou quelle consonance le texte exige, et qu'il l'applique proprement ensuite au bon endroit. Car ceux-là sont plus qu'aveugles, tâtonnant dans les ténèbres, qui joignent aux paroles consolantes et pleines de joie une triste musique, ou bien qui accouplent une mélodie joyeuse à des mots lugubres. Par dessus tout, le musicien pèche s'il fait accompagner une syllabe brève par une note longue, car la musique a beaucoup en commun avec la poésie. C'est la faute principale des musiciens belges, parce que beaucoup d'entre eux ignorent la quantité des syllabes . . .

« En septième et dernier lieu, il doit s'efforcer de faire entrer les voix en fugue, les unes après les autres. Celles-ci entrent à la quinte, à la sixte, à l'octave, et à la dixième dans les ligatures et les syncopes, comme nous le montrerons par des exemples à deux, à trois, à quatre, à cinq, à six et à sept voix. Car les musiciens les plus habiles d'Italie, de la France, et des Flandres emploient ce genre de syncope et de ligatures, et celui qui voudra chanter avec eux sera rapidement déconcerté, et s'en ira honteusement et tourné en ridicule, s'il ne possède pas à fond cette technique »[45].

45 Fol. Lii *v°*: *Primum itaque quod in bono compositore desideratur, est, ut contrapunctum ex tempore canere sciat. Quo sine nullus erit.*

Secundum, ut ad componendum magno ducatur desiderio, ac impetu quodam naturali ad compositionem pellatur, adeo ut nec cibus nec potus ei sapiat, ante absolutam cantilenam, nam una hora plus conficitur, cum impetus ille naturalis sic urget, quàm alias in integro mense. Inutiles itaque sunt componistae, quibus desunt singulares hi motus.

Tertium, ut sciat species perfectas et imperfectas suo loco applicare, ut in regula contrapuncti doctum est. Nam regula compositionis à regula contrapuncti parum differt. Compositionis regula liberior (fol. Liii r°) *est, et in hac plura licent quàm in contrapuncto. Nam malae species: secunda videlicet, quarta, et suae aequivalentes sunt optimae in compositionibus, dum modo octava, aut sexta in inferiore parte excuset illas, et dicitur gallice Faubordon, id est, quòd malae species, quae sunt contra partem superiorem excusantur, per vocem inferiorem sextis seu octavis, . . .*

(Fol. Miv *r°*) *Quartum quod in componista requiritur, est, ut postquam species firmiter, et ad unguem tenuerit, attendat, cuius nam toni compositurus sit cantum, quia dedecori et ignorantiae datur Musico, si tonos regulares aut irregulares ignoret. Summe itaque curabit, ne in tenore tonus excedat limites suae naturae, nec faciat cantum divagantem incantabilem, modestia et dulcedine carentem, sed magis quęrat symphoniam, quam profundam, extraneam et inusitatem musicam, et ut magis placeat audientibus, quàm rixandi occasionem praebeat.*

Quintum est, ut attendat componista signorum mensuram et tactum, scilicet prolationis . . . modi . . . temporis . . . binarii . . . proportionis . . . augmentationis, diminu-

Adrian Petit Coclico et le compilateur du manuscrit de Chantilly, encore imprégné de la doctrine de Jacques de Liège, n'ont guère de commun que des éléments formels, comme j'ai essayé brièvement de le démontrer. De cette incursion dans les ateliers où l'homme apprenait à chanter aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles, époque unique dans l'histoire musicale, à cause de la confluence des deux courants de la pensée, médiévale et moderne, qui se sont mêlés un bref instant avant de bifurquer, on aura vu, j'espère, l'étendu considérable donné aux études musicales, et les bases intellectuelles solides sur lesquelles celles-ci reposèrent. J'ai essayé de faire comprendre par l'exposé de quelques faits significatifs qu'entre l'école de chant de jadis et le conservatoire d'aujourd'hui, il n'y a pas de facteur commun. Si j'ai réussi, j'aurai été heureux d'avoir contribué une autre pièce d'évidence à détruire la légende malfaisante, qui a faussé tant de perspectives psychologico-historiques, à savoir, celle qui prétend que l'homme est partout et toujours le même.

tionis, quae habent ius agendi pariter iuxta (ut supra diximus) naturam signi appositi, quia si quisque in fine cuiuslibet cantus non observat mensuram, aut tactum ipsius signi iure appositi, committit vitium grande, et toto coelo errat, et suo iudicio (quo prodit suam inscitiam in musica) quasi sorex perit.

Sextum, quod in componista requiritur, est, ut bene ruminet textum, qualem tonum aut harmo- (fol. Miv v°) *niam exigat, eundemque textum ornate suo loco applicet, quia sunt plus quàm cęci palpantes in tenebris, qui verbis consolatoriis, et gaudii plenis addunt tristes numeros, ac vicissim moestis verbis laetas melodias applicant.*

Maxime etiam Musico vitio datur, si brevem syllabam addat longae notae. Quia musica multum commertii cum poësi habet. Et non video, quid magis desiderari possit in Musicis Belgicis, quàm quòd syllabarum quantitas pluribus incognita sit . . .

Septimum et ultimum est, ut prospiciat, si possibile fuerit, quòd una vox aliam sequatur per fugam in inchoatione cantus. Haec fermè fiunt per quintam, sextam, et octavam, et decimam in ligaturis et syncopis, ut infra per exempla duarum, trium, quatuor, quinque, sex, septem vocum ostendemus. Nam huiusmodi syncopis et ligaturis utuntur nunc in Italia, Gallia, et Flandria eruditissimi Musici. Et qui se illis socium in canendo adiungit, nisi fuerit practicus tenens haec firmiter, cito succumbet, atque cum rubore discedet, ac ridebitur.

MUSIC IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE REFORMATION

FREDERICK W. STERNFELD

The pedagogues of the Renaissance included, with but rare exceptions, the study of music in the ideal curriculum. In their writings, which articulated so copiously the programs and purposes of their schools, at least one of the reasons fur this agreement on the necessity of a musical education is not difficult to trace, for whether they confined themselves purely to educational thought as did Melanchthon, or, like Thomas More, dealt with society as a whole, there towered in all Renaissance treatises, of whatever nature, the arch-model of philosophical thought and literary style, Plato. Thus, the inclusion of music, supervised and censored perhaps, but of commanding importance, was virtually a predetermined fact. This common source and belief explain the presence of such strikingly similar creeds of humanist educators, south and north of the Alps: " I speak for myself, but if I had children of my own I would have them learn not only languages and history but singing and instrumental music and a full course of geography and mathematics as well," exclaimed Alberti in 1469. " If I had children and were able, I would have them learn not only languages and history, but also singing and instrumental music and the whole course of mathematics," wrote Luther in 1524.

The principal arguments in favor of the inclusion of music in educational theory and practice were two: a belief in its wholesome effect upon the student; and the actual need of the community for music. The belief in the power of music, its ethos, the belief in the value of the art of tones as a vital and vigorous exercise for the whole person, was a common denominator of Italian, French, German and English education. But the functional aspect of school music, which required that singers and instrumentalists of the student body provide ritual music for the Church and worship of the elders differed with countries and religions. In the Protestant North, church services, weddings and funerals, and, indeed, much of daily life, became in part the business of the cantor and his young charges, whereas the general educational institutions in the Catholic South were not expected to, and did not, supply their communities with a daily musical diet.

The inspiration derived from Platonic thought is obvious in the philosophical concepts and literary formulations of treatises in which the humanists of all countries expounded the value of music and in which they shared with the author of the *Republic* his belief in the power of music, its ethos. Often enough, the schoolmasters made explicit reference to their model. " Plato and Aristotle . . . both agre, that Musike used amonges the Lydians is verie ill for young men . . . Musike, invented by the Dorians, they both wonderfully prayse . . . Nowe whether these balades and roundes, these galiardes, pavanes and daunces . . . be lyker the Musike of the Lydians or the Dorians, you that be learned judge. And what so ever ye judge, this I am sure y^{t} lutes, harpes, all maner of pypes, barbitons, sambukes, with other instruments every one . . . be condemned of Aristotle . . . Muche musike marreth mennes maners, sayth Galen . . . But yet as I woulde have this sorte of musike decaye amonge scholers, even so do I wysshe from the bottom of my heart, that the laudable custome of England to Teache chyldren their plainesong and priksong, were not so decayed throughout all the realme as it is . . ."[1]. In Calvin's writings we find: " There is hardly a power in the world which is so much in a position to lead the morals of men towards this or that side, as Plato has judged so intelligently. And indeed we experience that it has an unbelievable, hidden power to excite the hearts one way or another"[2]. Thus, it was held that music affected the whole human being, body as well as mind, and though remarks about the desirability of music from a physiological point of view are not too frequent, it would be a mistake to overlook them. In nearly all Lutheran and Calvinistic schools the teaching of music was assigned to the first hour after the mid-day meal. Following Melanchthon's school order of 1528, the music hour in Lutheran schools took place from twelve to one o'clock; in Calvin's Collège in Geneva, where the regime was more rigorous and the school day had an earlier start, from eleven to twelve o'clock. Dietary considerations governed the choice of the hour, a policy that persisted into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is, indeed, both amusing and semantically illuminating to find identical terms used by Heusinger and Milton. Thus, " veterum scilicet medicorum praecepto, qui prodesse estimabant adversus tardam *concoctionem* clare

[1] Roger Ascham, *English Works*, « Toxophilus », Cambridge, 1904, 12 f.
[2] K. A. Schmid, *Geschichte der Erziehung*, Stuttgart 1884–1902, 2, II, 265 f.

legere, vel cuius eadem ratio, cantare"[3]. And "The like (sc. music) would also not be unexpedient after Meat to assist and cherish Nature in her first *concoction*, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction"[4].

In his *Melodiae Scholasticae* Martin Agricola recognized and stressed the role of music as a restorative against fagged minds and bodies when he called his book an exercise in prayer which also "reficit vires a contentione fatigatas." Similar considerations may have induced Neander to schedule optional exercises in instrumental music from six to seven o'clock after the winter evening meal. Indeed, the function of music as a physiological exercise received the consideration of such diverse authors as Camerarius and Montaigne. A further aspect of physiological usefulness, the training that music afforded in producing the well-modulated voice required by men in public life, is carefully pondered by such educators as Mulcaster and Ascham. The latter's statement presents an argument that has a familiar ring, were one to substitute a modern vocabulary for this sixteenth century exposition, and, indeed, the reforms that Ascham offered in the Toxophilus would be welcome remedies four centuries later: "... truly two degrees of mene ... shal greatly lacke the use of Singinge, preachers and lawiers, bycause they shall not without this be able to rule their brestes for every purpose. For the hearers, as Tullie sayeth, be much *affectioned*, as he is that speaketh ... where a matter is spoken, with an apte voyce, for every *affection*, the hearers for the moste part are moved as the speak er woulde .... But when a man is always in one tune, lyke a Humble bee, or else nowe up in the top of the churche, now downe that no manne knoweth where to have hym: or piping lyke a reede, or roring lyke a bull, as some lawyers do, which thinke they do best, when they crye lowdest, these shall never greatly move ..."[5].

The italics emphasizing the terms *affectioned* and *affection* do not stand in the original, but for the Renaissance and the Baroque, this word "affection" may be called the key-note of musical aesthetics. In fact, it is in the later period that we meet it more frequently and more consistently. Though the antique concept of ethos suffered many changes through the Middle Ages it was still alive in the aesthetics of

3 Heusinger, *Opuscula*. Nordh. 1773, I, 326.

4 John Milton, *Works*, «On Education», Columbia University Press ed., IV, 288 f.

5 Ascham, *op. cit.*, 15 f.

humanism, of Luther as well as of Glareanus. Since then, it has steadily declined. The Baroque theory of the affections, so prominent in seventeenth and early eighteenth century literature and thought, already represents a rationalisation of the original concept. From the time of the Enlightenment the belief in ethos – or its modern successor, the theory of affections – has become practically extinct, notwithstanding the intuitions of a few great artists and the sympathetic results of modern thought and scholarship. For, whereas the seventeenth century rationalized the emotional impact of music by seeking its cause in the bosom of the artist, its creator, Renaissance educators retained a naive faith in the power of song that recalls the myth of Orpheus. " Because there was hardly a power in the world so much in a position to lead the morals of man toward one side or another," in Calvin's belief, students in the Geneva schools lead the congregation in psalm singing of a noble and solemn character. It was the acceptance of this spirit that prompted Ainsworth to say in the preface of the Amsterdam Psalter of 1612, the psalm book of the Pilgrim fathers, " Tunes of the Psalms I find none set of God, so that each people is to use the most grave, decent and comfortable manner that they know how." And when, in 1551, the composer Bourgeois, cantor at Geneva, changed the established psalm tunes, with their well-known effect, without serving notice or obtaining permission, the enraged town council put him into prison, from which none other than Calvin himself had to liberate him. These psalm books were not merely books of worship for the elders; they also served as music text-books for the young. Hence, since the Reformation created its own liturgy in the vernacular, proper musical training of the children in the schools was the *sine qua non* for the secure establishment of that liturgy. Indeed, on December 25, 1561, the Geneva congregation was ordered to abstain from accompanying the songmaster and the students in the singing of new psalm tunes, because, to the horror of visitors, many of the congregation sang along with the new songs haphazardly, without knowing the melody. Here, indeed, in the power of music to lead the children to God we find the very core of the ethos theory as it affected the schools of the Reformation. By comparison, the need for music to resuscitate body and mind as well as to train the voice was merely subsidiary. In the sixteenth century the school was still a House of God for the young, and as we shall see, even when the schoolmaster was maintained by town funds, he was subject to ecclesiastical authority. Hence, the

daily exercise of music gave assurance that the exhortations of the reformers to lift the hearts of men to God, their *sursun corda*, would be implemented and fulfilled by the power of music. It is for this reason that Luther prefaced the four-part setting of the 1524 *Gesangbüchlein* with the remark that the hymns were "brought into four parts for no other reason than that I wanted youth, who must be educated in music and the other arts, to have something so that they would be rid of songs of vulgar love and the flesh, and instead learn something wholesome, and thus the good would enter their hearts with joy, as it should with youth."

Yet, this faith in the elevating powers of music must perforce have its corollary in the fear of a corruptive influence which vulgar and cheap music would exercise. Luther's attitude was paralleled by that of Sassuolo da Prato, teacher of music and mathematics in Vittorino's school at the Gonzaga Court, who condemned the popular music of the time as sordid, shameless, corrupt and corrupting (*corrupta atque corruptrix*) even though music was given to man by divine intention to guarD and inspire all that was best and noble[6]. Indeed, it is hardly possible to scrutinize any general source material on the educational principles of the Renaissance without being constantly made aware of these two opposing poles of the ethical concept, that is, one must have music because music makes men good, but one must beware of bad music, because it debases man. Some Italian humanists, as for example, Aneas Sylvius, even felt unable to reach a decision regarding music because so many notions could be quoted for or against it. The German humanists, on the other hand, preferred to accept the risk of *musica corrupta atque corruptrix* in their zeal to foster the love of God through the song of God. But the classical answer to the fears and qualms concerning the abuse of music was given by an English schoolmaster, Richard Mulcaster: "For one aunswere to all, if abuse, of a thing, which may be well used, and had her first being to be well used, be a sufficient condemnation to the thing that is abused, let glotonie forbid meat, distempering drinke, pride apparell, heresie religion, adulterie mariage, and why not, what not"[7].

[6] W. H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other Humanist Educators*, Cambridge, 1897, 240.

[7] Mulcaster, *Positions wherein those primitive circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training up of children.* 1581, With an appendix by Robert H. Quick, London, 1888, 38.

The striking fact remains that whereas opinions north and south of the Alps were so remarkably similar, the actual scope of music in the curriculum differed greatly. Both Cisalpini and Transalpini accepted the characterization of Rudolph Agricola as a *musica natura*, a harmoniously developed personality, the ideal human being in whose make-up musical accomplishment was certainly important. But in spite of his *musica natura*, this northern humanist, who received some of his education at Guarini's school at Ferrara, made little or no contribution to the role of music as a constituent part of the educational program of his time. In contrast with the religious zeal of a Melanchthon or Calvin, the secularization of the Italian educators resulted in the lack of powerful stimuli for a thoroughgoing participation of music in the schools. (Even Aeneas Sylvius' attitude in his *De liberorum educatione* is in effect secular, since he is concerned exclusively with the preparation of a secular career.) In a functional sense the Italian humanists were not called upon to provide music for the worship of the town or the community at large; and as far as the ethos was concerned, the aims of their humanistic individualism suffered, it is true, by the neglect of music, but suffered not too much. Their delight in Latin and Greek was more self-contained and self-sufficient, while in the North it was subservient to the knowledge of the Word of God. It was this lack of religious intensity that probably induced many an Italian humanist not to trouble too much with a subject in which instruction for the vitally interested was readily obtainable outside the general schools and the teaching of which harbored difficulties and dangers. But for the Protestants who desired to lift their hearts to God and who did not stop at the ideal of the *uomo universale*, music was not only a functional necessity; it provided also the indispensable ethos for their God-searching *sursum corda*. Disavowing the temptation to probe any further into this problem, we must turn our attention from the ideas and ideals of humanist educators to the actual demands and needs of the society in which they lived. To provide music for the worship of the elders furnished perhaps the most important *raison d'être* for the schools of Luther and Melanchthon. In an unbroken tradition that threads its way from the schools of the Carolingian Renaissance in the ninth century to the schools of the Reformation in the sixteenth, boys received instruction in Latin and music in order that they might participate in the service of the church. In fact, it is the immortal contribution of Luther that he was able to graft the new religious orga-

nization founded by him upon the rich musical heritage of the past, thus preserving the unity of Western music. In the last few decades we have become increasingly aware of this contribution on the part of the Reformation to Occidental unity, an awareness often overshadowed in the past by too great a focus on the decline of organizational uniformity of the church as a whole. It was Luther's friend and collaborator, Philipp Melanchthon who, above all others, established and organized the German educational system and the scope of music within that system. He bore the cherished title *Praeceptor Germaniae*, and it is only fitting that for a statement on the functional need for music we should turn to Rhabanus Maurus, the first *Praeceptor Germaniae*, in the earlier Renaissance of the Carolingian era: "Haec ergo disciplina tam nobilis est, tamque utilis, ut, quia ea caruerit, ecclesiasticum officium congruere implere non possit. Quidquid enim in lectionibus decenter pronuntiatur, ac quidquid de psalmis suaviter in eccclesia modulatur, huius disciplinae scientia ita temperatur, et non solum per hanc legimus et psallimus in ecclesia, imo omne servitium Dei rite implemus"[8].

The pendant to Rhabamus Maurus' remark that "whoever does not master the noble and useful art of music is not fit to hold ecclesiastical office" is Luther's wellknown statement, "A schoolmaster must know how to sing or I would not allow him to teach." For the school of the 16th century continued to be an office of the church and the program of instruction was, in a sense, a service adjusted to the age level of the young. This dependence of the school upon the church was symbolized in the procession in which the entire educational institution, teachers and students, marched to and from the Church. Indeed, singing and worship were such an integral service of the school to the community that all schools, large and small, even those having but two teachers, had a cantor on their staff. Of course, as in any functional relationship free of pretense and self–consciousness, there existed a genuine give and take. The school supplied the chanting and singing but received instruction in the form of the sermon which was repeated in the schoolroom. The same dual function was true of liturgical song; just as Luther relied upon the cantor and his students for these songs, so for the benefit of the classical studies of the students, singing in the Latin tongue, though somewhat reduced, was by no means eliminated

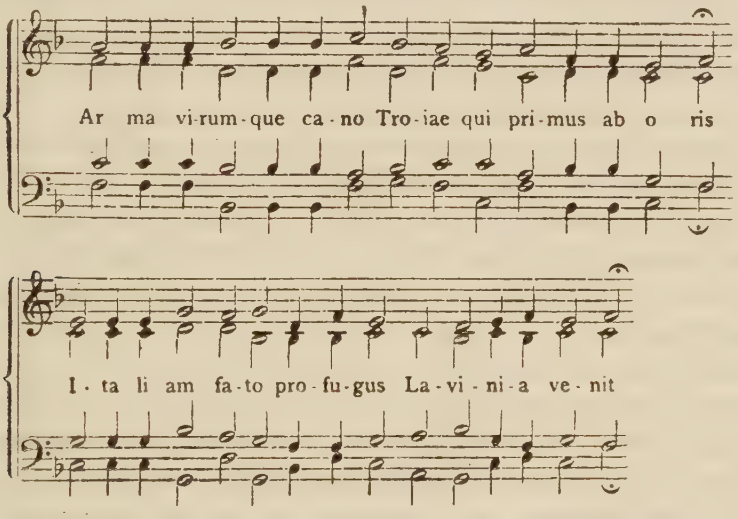
[8] *De clericorum institutione* III, 24, Migne, *Patr. lat.* CVII, 401.

in favor of the vernacular. Luther's *Deutsche Messe* of 1526 gave a clear statement of his motivation, and the Braunschweig church order of 1528 expressly prescribed that Latin singing of the students in church should be continued " not because of the edification of the congregation but rather because of the practice for the students."

Hence, it is not difficult to understand why the hymn book used in Sturm's Gymnasium in Strasbourg contained chants and prayers in Greek and Latin rather than in German, as the very title of the book indicated: *Christianae cantiones et precationes partim graecae, partim latinae, usitatae in classibus gymnasii Argentinensis* (1555). An educational historian has recalled in this connection the argument which Johannes Spangenberg offered in the preface to his *Cantiones ecclesiasticae latinae* of 1545, that " the all-powerful God wants to be glorified and praised in all languages and tongues." But it seems more reasonable and realistic to assume that Spangenberg and Sturm were primarily motivated by a desire to practice the tongues which were a necessary prerequisite for subsequent study in the universities, not to mention their importance for Biblical studies.

Dramatic performances, another community service on the part of the schools, were at the same time exercises for the students and festive and pleasurable occasions for the town population. Fortunately, the music for the choruses which punctuated the performances of these school dramas is preserved for us in a few significant instances. The reprint by Pruefer in 1890 of the *Ajax lorarius*, Scaliger's Latin translation of Sophocles' drama, performed at Strasbourg in 1587, with choral songs composed by Johannes Cless, provides not only musically stimulating fare but also an illuminating specimen of the prevalent musical style in such productions. For the schoolmasters, in furnishing musical settings for these important town and gown occasions, felt that the antique meter of the text should be matched by a corresponding musical rhythm. Naturally, the principle that dactyls and iambics, when set to music, called for an analogous succession of long and short notes was applied by the music teachers to the lyrical poetry of a Horace and the epics of a Virgil as well as to dramatic literature. Whether all antique poetry was originally conceived in a musical rendition or whether some of it, in keeping with the sophisticated stage of civilization from which it emanated, was more likely to have been a purely literary creation, is a question for philologians. As in the case of the Florentine Camerata whose misconceptions at the end of

the century resulted in a new art form, the important fact for the development of music is not whether Horatian odes were originally sung from beginning to end, as the German schoolmasters believed, but what results such beliefs, historically right or wrong, achieved in producing new musical styles. In the case of the Horatian odes and other Latin poetry the application of the metrical rhythm to all parts of the music created a *nota contra notam* style considerably different from the contrapuntal style of the bulk of German polyphony throughout the century. The following setting of the first two lines of the *Aeneid* furnishes a good illustration of such metrical compositions[9]:



As early as 1501 we see in the Ludus Dianae by Conrad Celtes, performed before King Maximilian at Linz, the first attempt at metrical music for antique meters. And with the first collection of this type of music, prepared by Celtes' pupil Tritonius in 1507 – and now applied to Horatian odes – the chord–like treatment of the chorus in Latin school dramas became an established custom. Rochus von Liliencron[10] has not only painstakingly assembled the material in this field but has also brilliantly interpreted it, and we can therefore restrict ourselves to a brief recapitulation of the outstanding facts. That the new manner found general acceptance in school dramas from Vienna to the Netherlands and from Switzerland to Saxony, cannot be doubted. Macrobius,

9 Quoted from R. Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte*, Leipzig I, (1909), 47.
10 *Vierteljahrschrift fur Musikwissenschaft*, III, 26–91, VI, 309–387.

the most successful author of school dramas, of the sixteenth century provided the choruses of his many productions with metrical melodies, and the great popularity of these musical settings to antique metres is further attested by the many editions that appeared in fairly close succession: Tritonius in 1507, Michael in 1526, Senfl in 1534 (a new harmonization of Tritonius' *tenores*), Hofheimer in 1539. Indeed, the practice was so common that sometimes the settings are merely referred to, not printed in full (as in the case of Cochlaeus who taught at the school of St. Lorenz in Nürnberg). But beyond its established position as the proper musical style for Latin poetry, these metrical settings undoubtedly were of the utmost general importance in the daily teaching of the art of tones. We must here refer to Glareanus, whose position as a musical scholar among his contemporaries was matched only by his fame as Emperor Maximilian's *poeta laureatus*. At the end of the second *liber* of his *Dodekachordon* Glareanus used Horatian Odes, set in the new metrical style, in order to teach melody formation. What more prominent position for any manner of writing music but to climax the teaching of *cantus planus* with melodies composed according to the new method as illustrations of creative activity within the realm of *cantus planus* [11].

Such a widespread application of any single practice to non-Christian texts must undoubtedly have taxed the religious zeal of the northern humanists. Certainly, Glareanus felt impelled to make express apologies in the just mentioned chapter, entitled "*De inveniendis tenoribus*," for having chosen as his examples texts of antiquity rather than of the Church. That is not to say that the new *nota contra notam* settings were not also composed to Christian poetry by the music teachers of the sixteenth century. We may fairly assume that Martin Agricola's *Melodiae Scholasticae* and Hordisch and Forster's *Melodiae Prudentianae* served students well outside the areas of the Magdeburg and Leipzig schools where they originated.

Since the men who furnished settings for Horatius and Macrobius and rehearsed their students for the performances of these settings were also entrusted with the task of providing the daily music for the church, it is logical that the same principles of composition should have been applied to the main activity of the schools which, after all,

[11] *Dodekachordon*, p. 179–194 of the original edition of 1547; p. 131–140 of Bohn's translation of 1888.

was not composition and performance of odes or dramatic choruses but daily psalmody. It is significant that Sturm's *Academicae Epistolae* mention the name of a musician whose publications were not only useful for the settings of antique metres but also for the rendition of the psalms in the new style. Sturm counseled Bitner, one of the teachers of his staff, to study the three volumes of Nepheleta's *Tria volumina musica*, so that the traditional presentation of Latin dramas might be accompanied by the proper music. It was this same Nepheleta who, in 1588, without assuming his Hellenized humanist name, but as simple Wolkenstein, published a collection of four-part settings of the psalms, *set syllabically* for school and church. Three years later Osiander published his well-known collection of Protestant hymns in a note-for-note arrangement, with the melody in the upper part so that the congregation might easily join the singing. The efforts of these men have often been criticized, because they smack of the school room; that Tritonius' settings are stiff and dry and that the whole genre of composition throughout the century, even in the work of such noble composers as Senfl and Hofheimer, lacks the dazzling brilliance of the Italian Renaissance, cannot be denied. But the realization that the humble efforts of the music schoolmasters of the sixteenth century eventually led to the glorious flowering of the Protestant chorale which shines, liturgically and aesthetically, as brightly in the twentieth century as it did during the Baroque, brings their work, at long last, into proper perspective. Historians may do well, therefore, not to look too condescendingly upon the efforts of these men, bent to provide the worship, the entertainment and the education of their communities with a down-to earth, work-a-day musical frame. In their humble, functional endeavors, the cantors of the Reformation ostensibly, and probably in their own minds, were working for the day only. But through these efforts grew the style of the coming Baroque, the *novum saeculum*.

The unquestioned belief in the power of music over the minds of the students and the real need on the part of the community for the services of the music-master and his pupils, explain the firm establishment of musical instruction within the organization of the schools. We are primarily concerned with schools that taught the *studium particulare*, in preparation for the universities (*studium generale*). Sometimes these schools were called *Partikularschulen*, at other times *Trivialschulen*, because they taught the trivium while the quadrivium

was usually reserved for the *facultas artium liberalium* of the universities. But since the dividing line between the artistic faculty of the universities (the preliminary stage for the study of law, medicine and theology) on the one hand, and the schools that prepared for the university on the other hand, was not a sharp one, we find the *ars musica*, properly a part of the quadrivium, not infrequently in the curriculum of the secondary schools. Their relationship to preliminary, elementary education was as broad and flexible as it was to the universities. Whether a school was called *Partikularschule*, *Fürstenschule*, *Trivialschule*, *Gymnasium*, *collège*, grammar school or whatever else, it invariably required, at least on paper, a minimal knowledge of reading, music and Latin. But whereas those schools that could assume the proper preparation by way of elementary school, song school or private tutoring may not have needed to teach the elements of music, there were undoubtedly many others which would find themselves compelled to start their instruction at the very beginning. This may have been due in part to local and economic circumstances and in part to a preference for a unified and properly integrated system of teaching under uniformly high standards. The latter certainly was the case with regard to the ambitious and comprehensive educational programs of a Sturm, a Trotzendorf and a Neander. The last of these started his charges at the age of eight years, at which time they had already had two years of reading, with elementary Latin, music and calligraphy, continuing their intensive schooling up to the eighteenth year. Clearly then, the schools, as, for the sake of brevity, we shall call these institutions of secondary learning, frequently reached out into the most elementary as well as the most advanced stages of musical instruction, and it was the broadness of their specific task that determined the scope of their personnel. The aesthetic and functional need for music is reflected in the statistics which reveal the fact that a musician had a place on the faculty of even the small institutions. The staff of a school with only two teachers would consist of a rector and a cantor or, in place of the latter, a sexton with the clear understanding that he was required to teach singing and to look after the musical needs of the community. A school of three teachers boasted a rector, a cantor and a sexton. As the size of the school increased teachers with varying ranks and titles were added, but it is clearly evident from the documents that an increase in the number of students called for an increase in personnel for the instruction of music. Music stood as one of the foun-

dation pillars of the entire educational building. In a large school such as at Hamburg the rector employed 3 *socii*, the first of whom had the students sing *cantum minorem*, the second *cantum majorem*, the third hymns. It is difficult to establish numerically the ratio between cantor and students, but the statistics for the three great Saxonian *Fürstenschulen* of the Reformation may be taken as a gauge: at Meissen one rector, two baccalaurei, one cantor, sixty boys; at Merseburg one rector, two baccalaurei, one cantor, 70 boys; at Pforta one rector, three baccalaurei, one cantor, 100 boys. And we may safely assume that the cantor alone was not active in the service of music. In the Wittenberg school, for instance, the music of the church was to be supplied four days a week by the rector and his three associates: the rector on Monday, the first associate on Tuesday, the cantor on Thursday and the *tertius* on Friday. Otherwise they were all to be in church.

The educational requirements for the music teacher were usually not as strict as for the master of the school. The latter must have a university degree (magister), whereas the former could frequently prove his ability only by local performance. It is significant, however, that several documents testify to the need for musical accomplishments, at least theoretically, on the part of the schoolmaster. At Halden he was to be, if not "magister promotus" at least "magister latinus et congruus dialecticus et musicus"[12]. That the more lax requirements for the lesser ranks would occasionally result in unfortunate appointments was only natural. At Prettin the records show the cantor to have been dismissed because of "indolence and lack of fitness." At Liebenwerda he "pays more attention to shooting than to the playing of the organ." The relative importance of the cantor on the staff is also reflected by the amount of his salary which usually followed that of the rector or subrector. At Ascherleben the subrector received 75 thaler a year, the cantor 45 thaler and the assistants 36, 30, 25 and 25 thaler each. Needless to say such meagre annual salaries had to be supplemented by additional income acquired by providing music at funerals, weddings and other festivities, events that were recorded with minute thoroughness in school and church orders. In the Nordhausen school-order teachers were specifically permitted to collect gifts for providing figural music at New Year's and other festivals. All teachers, except the rector, were permitted to sing from house to

[12] Vormbaum, *Evangelische Schulordnungen*, I, 52.

house, and the money received was divided among the teachers in arithmetical proportion[13]. The annual stipend might also be supplemented by contributions to the teacher from the students, in addition to gifts from the community. In the case of one town school where the rector had mastered only the theory of music and was not a practicing musician himself, he engaged an assistant whom he paid, and who also received from the students the "song–penny" (*Sanghelle*r)[14].

Many schools prescribed entrance and transfer examinations which provide a clear record of the fundamental character of the music instruction in the curriculum. At the Neckar School at Heidelberg, no student was admitted who was not first examined by the rector in the arts and by the cantor in music. Frenquently, of course, the requirements differed for different students. At Braunschweig, according to Bugenhagen's church order – in force with only slight changes from 1528 to the end of the century – all students had to learn song in school, but in church only the good students sang. This custom, was obviously a heritage that the Reformation acquired from the Roman Catholic Church. We have only to look at the pre–Reformation regulations of the Thomas school in Leipzig or the Vienna order for cantors of 1460, where all students were instructed in *cantus planus* in the school, while *cantus figuratus* was taught only to the gifted students in the "cantorei."

The activities of the pupils were by no means restricted to public performances in the church and the streets, though these undoubtedly comprised the major functions. Neander's school order made it quite clear that one must be able to sing in school, church, *conviviis*, *honestis congressibus*, *et cetera*. Just as the teachers were often obliged to eke out their incomes by supplying music for private functions outside the church, so, too, the music students, often depended on the alms and bread handed out to them by the burghers. Again we deal with a legacy of the late Middle Ages. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries wandering scholars had relied on these contributions, and in the early the town schools of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it became customary for poor students to march and roam (*currere*) through the streets singing for bread, their *parteke*. Because of their street processions they were sometimes called *currendarii*, and because they carried

[13] Georg Mertz, *Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation im 16. jhdt.*, Heidelberg, 1902, 425 f.

[14] Georg Schünemann, *Geschichte der deutschen Schulmusik*, Leipzig, 1928, 38.

a pack for the *parteke* on their backs they were also called *partekenhengste*. This custom, at first frowned upon by the Protestants, was, nevertheless, too well established to be readily discarded. Luther pleaded for the *currendarii* when he said "It is true, the Pope himself was such a student, and do not despise the fellows who come to the door declaiming and singing for bread. I, too, have been such a *partekenhengst*, have taken bread in front of the houses, particularly in Eisenach, my dear city."

The importance of the *currendarii* for the community at street singing, holidays, weddings, funerals, banquets and other occasions, the importance of their training as well as the livelihood for the students themselves, is reflected in the many regulations pertaining to these roving scholars: the terms on which they were to be accepted in the school; who was to keep a record of their attendance and of the amount of alms collected; how the results of the collections were to be distributed; many other details are set forth in the church and school orders of the sixteenth century with the thoroughness so characteristic of the early Reformation. The *currendarii* represented the second level of musical accomplishment among the students. The first, or lowest, level included general students who received a minimum instruction in music and who participated in the school singing but not on the particular occasions reserved for the *currendarii*. The third and highest level was represented by the *symphoniaci*, a group of *currendarii* distinguished from the rest by more elaborate training and a more demanding musical repertoire, particularly in the realm of figural music. The Braunschweig, Nordhausen and other church orders are particularly articulate in the formulation of rules pertaining to the *chorus symphoniacus* (sometimes also referred to as the *Figuralchor*).

The music text books used in the schools emphasize again that the language of these establishments, whether supported by town or church, was Latin. The two most popular text books of the period were Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus*, 1548, and Nicolaus Listenius' *Musica*, 1537. Martin Agricola's endeavors to make the German language flexible and appropriate for the technical terms of music were embodied in his *Kurtz Deutsche Musica*, 1528, and his *Musica Figuralis Deutsch*, 1532. These books were written for his Magdeburg students, but his efforts found little echo in the country, and in his *Rudimenta Musices* and *Quaestiones Vulgatiores*, 1539 and 1543 respectively, he returned to the traditional humanist

language. Luscinius' version in Latin of Sebastian Virdung's *Musica Getuscht* of 1511, printed in Strasbourg in 1536, saved that work for school and study. Indeed, Georg Schmid has suggested that in Sturm's Strasbourg Gymnasium text books by Luscinius and Spangenberg were used in addition to the three volumes of *Tria Volumina Musica* by Wolkenstein which are mentioned earlier. Luscinius is a rather interesting personality, an all around humanist, distinguished in the field of Greek studies, who taught at Strasbourg and for a time also in Vienna. He was among the Strasbourgers who welcomed Erasmus on his visit to that city and was subsequently mentioned in Erasmus' correspondence.

Another music text book deserves mention, the *Tetrachordum Musices* . . . written by Cochlaeus, rector of the school of St. Lorenz in Nürnberg and well known for his humanistic studies. Before coming to Nürnberg Cochlaeus taught at the University of Cologne, where Glareanus was one of his pupils, and it was there that he published his *Musica* in 1507. But following his appointment to the Nürnberg post in 1510 Cochlaeus began the systematic publication of his own text-books, the *Quadrivium Grammatices*, 1511, the *Cosmographia*, 1512, and the *Metereologia*, 1512. This imposing array was rounded out by the *Tetrachordum Musices . . . pro iuventutis laurentianae eruditiones imprimis: dein ad ceterorum . . . eruditionem.* Indeed, these several editions of this work (1511–12–14–16) make it probable that the book served not only for the *iuventus laurentiana* but also for other school children. It is a typical humanist school book in that the section on mensural music is modeled after Gafurius who, with Tinctoris, is the godfather of the works of most German humanists in the field. The abundance of laudatory poems and dedicatory letters with which it is interspersed, of which we mention only Pirkheimer's poem in honor of Cochlaeus and the latter's epistle to Pirkheimer, is also characteristic of publications of this period. That Cochlaeus' teaching aids enjoyed a usefulness far beyond the Nürnberg school is shown by the record of the Strasbourg Cathedral where Gebwiler made use of his Latin grammar [15].

An excerpt from the by-laws of the Academy of Geneva, printed in 1559 by Stephanus, in Latin and French, with preface by Théodore

[15] Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts* . . ., 2d ed., Leipzig, 1896, I, 149; K. A. Schmid, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, II, 115.

de Bèze, supplies a good background for judging the degree of importance given to music in comparison with other studies: "Concerning the Students of the Collège (Gymnasium) . . . in summer at 6 A. M., in winter at 7 the students shall meet . . .. Then they shall in summer iisten to the teacher for one and a half hours . . . recess of half an hour for breakfast, then in summer, instruction shall go on until 9. But in winter they shall be taught from 7 until 9 in such a way that Breakfast does not hinder recitation. It shall be taken while the boys are reciting the assigned texts . . . returning from dinner to school at 11. both in winter and summer, they shall revenrently sing psalms until noon; then they shall receive instruction from noon till one. Then an hour shall be partly devoted to lunch, partly to writing or other studies. From two to four they shall be instructed . . . ". The custom of allotting a full hour a day to the teaching of music was, of course, not restricted to Calvin's Collège, but was a customary feature of most of the German schools. It is quite probable that the music schedules of Huguenot and Lutheran institutions had a common root in Melanchthon's order of 1528 for school supervisors and that the German Gymnasium, through Sturm's school at Strasbourg, influenced Calvin's educational ideas[16]. Certainly, the ethical, if not the dietary considerations that still persisted in Milton's tract on education make the common policy plausible. There was, in some schools, additional instruction in sacred song during the hours devoted to religion. Of the three classes of the school at Mittweida, the lowest form had five hours in religion, two of which were devoted to song. Moreover, there were frequently special rehearsals on Saturdays in preparation for the following day, as in Neander's school. There, too, optional instrumental exercises in music were scheduled daily from six to seven after the evening meal. But even when the teaching of music was restricted to one hour a day, the proportion of time devoted to it is impressively high.

The degree of integration achieved between the various branches of the curriculum is bound to elicit our admiration. There was a constant and fruitful interplay between music and the three great pillars of the general program, *pietas*, *linguae* and *artes*. We have tried to show earlier that ethical and functional considerations provided a

[16] F. W. Kampschulte, *Johann Calvin*, Leipzig 1869–1899, II, 333; Frederick Eby, *Early Protestant Educators*, New York, 1931, 234.

common point of departure in the case of *religious studies*. The terms used in musical instruction were established in the Latin tongue, which was also the class-room language, thus serving as a constant exercise in *grammar* and *dialectics*. In fact, the Greek technical terms used by Sturm in his outline for musical instruction indicate that some practice in Greek as well was not entirely absent. The direct relationship between music and arithmetic and astronomy among the *arts*, and, beyond these, between music and physics and philosophy, are equally obvious to any reader of the mediaeval or humanistic text-books in the field. Schünemann has quite properly pointed out that the unified purpose of the Gymnasium, its religious intent, produced a unified and coherent curriculum, a type of *Gesamtunterricht* for which our own century seems to be only hesitantly groping[17]. In offering this integrated curriculum the general policy of Melanchthon was to have the teacher first supply a rule (*praeceptum*), which must then be illustrated (*exemplum*), whereupon the students were made to practice its application (*imitatio*), a method also admirably suited to musical instruction and designed to lead to the every-day practical use of the acquired skills (*usus*). It is no small wonder that the question and answer method which Luther and Melanchthon were so given to using was also applied to music. Spangenberg's and Agricola's *Quaestiones* and similar publications are the only printed remainders of a widespread practice. But it would be underestimating the functional emphasis of the entire program were we not to realize that in the minds of the educators the daily exercise, the *usus*, was the prime consideration. In many documents teachers were warned not to spend too much time on merely theoretical rules. When Adrian Petit Coclicus condensed the pedogogical experience of his great master and teacher Josquin as well as his own classroom practices into his *Compendium* of 1552, he referred in this text book frequently, and with praise, to Josquin's method of teaching the rules of the art of music without any book, the *prima vista* singing of actual compositions from the beginning and the observing, in the process, of many things now abstracted into *praecepta*. Coclicus taught at Condé, at Wittenburg, at Frankfort and at Nürnberg and, in fact, apparently always functioned as a teacher of music except during his stay at the Papal Chapel in Rome. Good singing was, indeed, both practically and ideally one of the most impor-

[17] Schünemann, *op. cit.*, 102 f.

tant goals of instruction. Church orders, individual books and, above all, the rectors of the schools insisted upon this criterion of good music teaching, one that would be manifest not only to the instructors and students immediately engaged, but also to the community at large. In his letters to class teachers Sturm advised his cantor, Matthias Stiffelreuter, that the chorus was to sing, not to shout; that too broad pronunciation of vowels and diphthongs were to be avoided, and flexible voice production to be aimed at. Good, pleasant singing, he continued, was to be found only with the Belgians and Romans; in Germany it was woefully rare. And when the Jurist Melchior Volmar succeeded in teaching his students to sing well listeners would hardly believe that they were born Swabians. (Volmar had been at Tübingen since 1535 and had taught earlier at French universities. Sturm visited him at Tübingen in 1541.) The rector of the Strasbourg school who wanted singing, not the silent muses, in his Gymnasium, remembered Volmar again in a letter of 1571, lamenting his death and consoling himself with the thought that Johann von Andernach, another octogenarian and vocal expert, was still alive, and his beautiful voice had not been impaired by old age[18]. Here it must be recalled that Erasmus, too, characterized the English as a singing people and the Germans as a drunken people, and we are reminded of the complaints of the Carolingians concerning the raucous German voices and the difficulties of instituting the tradition of Roman chant in the North[19]. What matters is not whether the criticisms and complaints of the ninth as well as of the sixteenth centuries were justified but that the care and attention devoted to the problem in the schools and churches bore fruit in succeeding eras.

The preoccupation, then, with the perfection of the actual performance of the songs for worship was a predominant feature of the curriculum; still, the musical diet was a balanced one. Many of the extant church and school orders emphasize that, in addition to chant, training in figural music must not be neglected ("*in cantu figurali, in cantu mensurali, nicht allein nach der Gewohnheit, sondern mit der Zeit künstlich*"), and there are other orders emphasizing theoretical in addition to practical training. At Braunschweig a half hour of theory

[18] K. A. Schmid, *op. cit.*, 2, II, 349 f.

[19] Migne, *Patr. lat.*, LXXV, 91; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum tomus* I, 171.

and a half hour of practice per day were prescribed. Würtemberg recommended *praecepta* briefly, *usus* extensively. Pomerania scheduled two days a week of *praecepta cum exemplis*, two days of singing. The Brandenburg church order of 1564 had theory and practice in the second class, German and Latin songs *in cantu chorali et mensurali*, as well as *praecepta* in the third class. The Wittenberg church order of 1533 established religious song for all students, "music" only for the upper two classes. In a sense, the question, to what extent musical theory and philosophy were to supplement the musical practice of the schools, was part of the general problem, to what an extent the quadrivium was to constitute part of the upper division of the humanist Latin schools, thereby overlapping with the artistic faculty of the universities. It is apparent, moreover, from the records of the equipment on hand as well as from the curriculum, that not all schools were either equipped or eager to teach music as a full-fledged member of the quadrivium.

But the accounts make clear that the more ambitious and extensively organized institutions could not do otherwise than to include musical theory in their offerings. There was, after all, the legacy of the mediaeval cathedral schools, and Rhabanus Maurus in the ninth century had already demanded of musical instruction not only knowledge of notation but the philosophical and mathematical approach as it was found in the writings of Boethius. Hence, throughout the Middle Ages, the more prominant cathedral schools, both before and after the founding of the universities, applied themselves to this task. A manuscript in the St. Thomas School in Leipzig, dating back to the thirteenth century, contains not only an extensive chant collection but also a theoretical portion distinguishing between *cantus ecclesiae* and *discantus*, between *musicus* and an unlearned singer, a distinction which brings to mind Aurelianus who wrote that the musician differed from the singer as the grammarian from the simple reader. The early town schools often supplied only the general and practical foundation of music, enabling students to join in the singing of simple chants and follow the order of worship, whereas the cathedral schools still taught the entire *ars musica*, including the *libri de musica* of Boethius. Sturm's requirement that the students in his Strasbourg Gymnasium study the gamut of tones from "*proslambanomenos to netehyperboleon*," acquaint themselves with "*harmonia, chroma, diatonon*," and other matters taught by Boethius provides a fitting illustration of the general

succession of the Latin schools of the Reformation to the Cathedral Schools of the Middle Ages[20].

The close proximity of music and mathematics, in the organization of the quadrivium, another bequest of the Middle Ages, was based on the underlying philosophical affinity of the two subjects, harking back to the " proportions " of Pythagorean thought. Italian humanists do not fail to mention this relationship in their educational writings, as Filelfo speaks (in a letter to Trivianus, educator of Giangaleazzo Sforza) of the approval that philosophers bestow upon music " because our mind, the sky, nay the entire universe consist of *proportiones musicae*." In Petrus Ramus' Collège de Presles the sixth year, devoted to mathematics, included music and optics. Similarly, in Germany, the humanist Nepheleta (Wolkenstein), who was active as mathematician at Strasbourg from 1568 to 1592, provided, as we have seen, not only the psalms for church and schools, syllabically set to music, but also the three volumes of *Musica* used for instruction at Sturm's Gymnasium. In the eight regulations pertaining to the second class of the three-class *Fürstenschulen* in Germany, allowance was made for "some of the best students of the class . . . to study arithmetic and music." At the Nicolai school in Leipzig, moreover, the first hour of the afternoon was labeled " *musica et aritmetica cum exercitio per vices*." Often, indeed, the cantors were appointed as teachers of mathematics and Martin Agricola's *Quaestiones vulgatiores* show how, in the computation of intervals, proportions, *et cetera*, the combination of music and arithmetic existed in textbook and classroom.

The very Latin schools of the towns which, in the sixteenth century, offered so complete a musical fare, were, nonetheless, frequently restricted to elementary teaching in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, because the Cathedral schools jealously guarded their jurisdiction over musically proficient students in the community. The arguments that ensued between schools endowed by church funds and those supported by town funds have often been interpreted by nineteenth century historians as ideological, but since the latter part of the century observers have inclined, on the basis of the extant documents, to regard the cause of these frictions rather as practical affairs.

[20] G. v. Detten, *Ueber die Dom- und Klosterschulen* . . ., Paderborn, 1893, 13 f; I. L. Kandel, *History of Secondary Education*, Boston, 1930, 57; Wustmann, *op. cit.*, 8 ff.; Schünemann, *op. cit.*, 13-45; K. A. Schmid, *op. cit.*, 2, II, 349 f.

What amounted practically to a competition for a numerically sufficient student choir was a down-to-earth problem, sometimes fought over with grim determination, in spite of the fact that as late as the sixteenth century the school, quite apart from the sacred or secular character of its endowment, remained under the extremely close supervision of ecclesiastical authority. These matters of rivalry between town and cathedral school in Germany were largely solved in the same way that similar conflicts between song schools and grammar schools were solved in contemporary England. The town and song schools respectively harbored elementary education, the Cathedral and grammar schools, on the other hand, offered more advanced training. At Lübeck, in 1262, we read "*postquam habiles ad cantum extiterint disponente scolastico ad scolas majoris ecclesiae transmittentur.*" A similar view prevails in a Hamburg document of 1289: *Cum autem dictos scholares tantum proficere constiterit, quod ad majorem cantum habiles inventi fuerint et puerilia postposuerint, ad praedictas scolas S. Mariae ibunt, ibidem ipsis competentia audituri*!"[21]. To give a further example, the cathedral school of Halberstadt in the fourteenth century had deteriorated to such an extent that "the bishop, if only to have the liturgical chants performed in the cathedral, had to confer upon the cathedral school special educational privileges, and to forbid other schools of the town to accept pupils that had left the cathedral school, by threat of excommunication."

The repertoire of the larger and more ambitious music masters in the churches and schools was such that they would, understandably, be extremely anxious to have competent students at their disposal. The cantor of the Thomas school in Leipzig in the 1540s left at his death 42 volumes of printed and written music which included compositions by the foremost masters of the century, Isaac, Josquin, Obrecht, de la Rue, Brumel, Senfl, Finck, Dietric[22]. It may be argued that the Thomas School was one of the finest musical organizations of the time and that its ambitious repertoire was not representative. But Schünemann, in his summary of the composers whose works were performed in all the German schools, includes each of these names in addition to many other masters of the century[23].

[21] K. A. Schmid, *op. cit.*, 2, I, 330, mistranslates *habiles ad cantum majorem* as *taktfest in der Durtonart* instead of "knowledgeable in the more advanced singing".

[22] Wustmann, *op. cit.*, 54–58.

[23] Schünemann, *op. cit.*, 145 f.

This repertoire of the Thomas School dates from the years after Whitsunday, 1539, when Luther himself preached in the Thomas Church and the Reformation entered Leipzig. At this turning point all church and school officials who had been active as musicians (excepting canons, monks and nuns), were taken over by the Reformation. In other words, the religious and educational organization set up by Luther and his associates succeeded in preserving the continuity of a rich, full and worth while musical life. Not in all towns nor in all institutions was the success as patent and spectacular as at St. Thomas. But from an over–all point of view, the Lutheran Reformation did not halt the flow of instrumental music or vocal polyphony in church or school. This achievement comes into proper perspective when it is contrasted with the decree of the Calvinists and the Anglican reformers. Insofar as we are concerned with the average student in the general schools, *Calvin* and his followers in the low countries and Great Britain made one great contribution: by demanding the participation of the congregation in the singing of the psalms they established the need for general musical instruction in Calvin's Collège in Geneva and in all other schools patterned after it. But by banning elaborate choral music and organ accompaniment the Calvinists not only reduced the musical diet of their followers, thus diminishing the opportunities for the creation and experience of great music at a time when the church still functioned as one of the chief patrons of the arts, but they also severely restricted the scope of musical instruction in the schools[24]. The *Anglican Reformation* was a reformation in two respects, which it had in common with the Lutheran Reformation: it took the highest ecclesiastical authority away from Rome, and it substituted the vernacular for Latin. But, contrary to the Lutherans, it did not, either then or in the long run, demand the extensive participation of the congregation in its church service.

The musicians who performed in the English cathedrals and churches were trained in special schools called chorister schools, not in general institutions of learning. It was the more noteworthy, therefore, that Mulcaster, as headmaster of the Merchant Tailors School, required of his students extensive musical exercises, a program that represented an exception rather than the rule in the grammar school of the English Reformation. This decline of musical instruction in the general curriculum on the level of secondary learning was preceded and paralleled

[24] Cf. P. A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music*, London, 1934, XVii f.

by the dissolution of the Mediaeval Song Schools by Henry VIII, which inspired Leach to exclaim: "It was a strange measure to make no provision whatever for saving or continuing these schools, and their like. How many Purcells have we lost . . . for lack of proper endowment of organists and song schools. An evil blow, too, was struck at the education of the masses by the destruction of the elementary schools. It was all very well for Henry VIII to sack the chantries, but the party of Crammer and Cheke, of Somerset and Latimer, could have had no such views. What a chance they lost in not revising the policy of Henry! We might have been a singing people and an educated people three centuries ago instead of just beginning to be so in the nineteenth century"[25].

One must take a long view to evaluate properly the impact of any curricular policy on a national culture. Did the schools of the Reformation offer an auspicious ground plan for the growth of a musical life? The private tutoring of gentlemen and the professional training of church musicians in the choir schools proved to be a sufficient educational basis for the glorious flowering of *English music* in Elizabethan times, and throughout the seventeenth century. With the subsequent emergence of the middle classes, a social stratum that had not been provided for musically in the general training system of the country, a serious lack made itself felt: a scarcity of men to create music coupled with a scarcity of intelligent and discriminating listeners. This state of affairs unhappily resulted in the drying up of the mainstream of English music which had followed such a noble and uninterrupted course from the late Middle Ages on. By contrast, the belief in the power of music and the need on the part of the community for school music in everyday life prompted the *German Reformers* to insist upon a musical education in their general program: a significant contribution to the world rôle of German music in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For, it is in the curriculum of today that we sow the seed for the culture of tomorrow.

Dartmouth College.

[25] A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation* . . . Westminster, 1896, 95 f.; cf. also A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Mediaeval England*, New York, 1915, particularly the passages indexed s. v. "Song Schools"; A. F. Leach, *A History of Winchester College*, New York, 1899; *Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, XXII (1905) 5, 22, 43, 69; F. Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, Cambridge, 1909, 142 f., 205 f., 212; F. Watson, *Richard Mulcaster and his "Elementarie"*, New York and Chicago, n. d., (c. 1899) 9, 11.

ANSELMI'S TREATISE ON MUSIC ANNOTATED BY GAFORI *

JACQUES HANDSCHIN.

In 1928, while working in the venerable halls of the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, I found a treatise on music specially interesting from two points of view: 1) the Ambrosiana copy of this treatise had belonged to Franchino Gafori, the theorist and composer born in 1451 at Lodi in Northern Italy, and active in Milan between 1484 and 1522; it contains Gafori's autograph of ownership and many marginal notes in his hand; 2) this treatise was an important source for Gafori, who referred to it in his various works, and particularly in the *Practica musicae*, first printed in Milan in 1496. The author of this treatise is Georgius Anselmi. The Library signature of the manuscript is: Milan, Ambrosiana, H. 233 inf. The manuscript is on paper, and our treatise is contained between fol. 5 and fol. 48. It would not seem that any other copy has come down to us.

This manuscript, mentioned in the preface to G. Cesari's new edition of Gafori's *Theorica Musicae* [1], (p. 19) but without its signature, presents a case worth noting. First, it bears a note (fol. 1) referring to a change of ownership in 1819. Then the story of the discovery of the manuscript is told twice in French in the notes inserted between folios 2 and 3 : a friend of the Library Director Mazzucchelli (not to be confused with the author of the *Scrittori d'Italia*) found it in a grocer's shop and gave it to the Ambrosiana. (According to the second version the grocer had just been tearing a sheet from the manuscript, the cover of which was already missing, to wrap something up with it). This is supposed to have happened in 1824; on the other hand, according to a note on fol. 2 and according to the Library Inventory, the manuscript was acquired in 1823. Thus chance preserved a document for us which otherwise would have been destined to destruction, though such fortune is not the case with Gafori himself, in whose connection

* *Editor's note*: Anselmi's treatise, edited by Prof. Handschin, will appear in the reasonably near future in the series of the American Institute of Musicology in Rome: *Corpus scriptorum de musica.*

[1] Published by Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1934.

we lament the loss by fire of one of the manuscripts – perhaps the most interesting one – containing Gafori's compositions; (this happened in 1906 at a time when one would have expected better care taken of ancient documents)[2].

There is a short account by Mazzucchelli about the author of our Treatise[3]. We read of a grandson of our author, active at the beginning of the 16th Century, and who mentioned his grandfather in certain epigrams on the *Dialogi de harmonia* (our treatise) and on the *Libri astrologicarum institutionum*. A more detailed account can be found in J. Affò[4]. Here the grandson's epigram on the *Dialogi de harmonia* is quoted and Affò mourns the loss of this treatise. Among other works of Anselmi Affò mentions one on astrology, under the title *Astronomica magistri Georgii de Anselmis*, in the Vatican manuscript lat. 4080 (actually there, fol. 41 and following). Affò also says that a book on magic has been ascribed to Anselmi, to be found in Vatican lat. 5333, but that he can hardly believe a philosopher to have written anything so superstitious. (We cite this *a priori* argument merely as a symptom of outlook in 1789. In the Vatican manuscript lat. 5333, on the back of the forepage we read: " Quarta pars quarti tractus Georgii Parmensis de modis specialibus imaginum octavi orbis, et de modis compositionum per exempla "; fol. 1 begins: " De imaginibus que fiunt ex signis 12 zodiaci "; fol. 38: " Explicit tractatus quartus de imaginibus Georgii Parmensis 1542, die Februarii "; fol. 38': " Ad Dei laudem et honorem explicit "). As to the circumstances of Anselmi's life, we learn from Affò that his father died in 1386, that he appears in a document dated 1423 as the seller of a piece of land, that he still lived in 1440, but was dead by 1443, and that he was a philosopher and physician.

Besides Gafori, also Spataro mentions Anselmi in both the pamphlets he published against Gafori in 1521; (see the new edition of the second, smaller pamphlet published by J. Wolf, page 21 and following, in the German translation). Also the humanist Georgius Valla had referred to Anselmi in connection with musical matters, for in the *Dodecachordon* (1547, p. 86) Glarean blames him for having based his theory of the Greek tonal system on " obscure " authors like Anselmi and Bryennius instead of Boetius. As far as I remember, Anselmi

[2] K. Jeppesen, *Acta mus.*, III, and G. Cesari, *Rivista mus. ital.*, XXIX.
[3] *Scrittori d'Italia*, under Anselmo (Giorgio) Parmigiano.
[4] *Memorie degli Scrittori e Letterati Parmigiani*, II, 1789, N. 77, p. 153 ff.

is also mentioned in Cerone's "Melopeo" (1613); I am, however, far from wishing to go into all the references to Anselmi's musical theory. Now we shall see what we can establish as to Gafori's position in connection with our manuscript.

Our facsimile shows the autograph of ownership in fol. 48 which reads as follows: "Liber Franchini Gafori Laudensis, musice professoris, Mediolanensis phonasci"[5]. In examining the manuscript one is forced to admit that the hand that wrote the rubrics and the numerous marginal notes and corrections of the text is Gafori's, because it is the hand of an expert musical theorist, and the very things that Gafori mentions in his own treatises are in part emphasized in the marginal notes. At a first glance, however, one would not believe the handwriting of the autograph of ownership to be the same as that of the rubric "Explicit musica Georgii Anselmi Parmensis". But in another Ambrosiana manuscript, H 165 inf., fol. 22', a note by the writer, which we likewise reproduce in facsimile, removes all doubt[6]. The handwriting of this note is really identical with that of our rubric; and if we also consider that in H 145 inf. the text itself is written by Gafori, it will be once more clear to us that we must be very careful in comparing handwritings: in old days not only were the differences between individual handwritings slighter, but the degrees of variety possible within the same person's handwriting, depending on the pen used and the purpose intended for, were greater than we would think. (Regarding manuscript H 165 inf., I will here only mention that it contains in fols. 1–16 the *Theorica musicae* by Joh. de Muris, in fols. 16'-18' the "Glossemata" to it, apparently by Gafori, and in fols. 18'-22', under the title of "Practica musicae", Joh. Muris' *Libellus*).

Our manuscript offers a proof of Gafori's tendency to add marginal notes to those works on musical theory which were in his possession and served him as sources. Another example is furnished in this connection by the manuscript of Ugolino di Orvieto in London (Br. Mus., Add. 33519) which was written in 1477. Further examples are given by the Latin translations of Greek musical treatises which have in part survived, but which I have not seen; Gafori, "das Land der

5 Cesari, *Op. cit.*, reads the word before the last as "Mediolani", but if we consider that "mli" has been used to signifiy "Mediolani", "mln" can only signify "Mediolanensis".

6 Cesari mentions this manuscript in *Op. cit.*, 21; the manuscrit contains a further note by Gafori on fol. 15', not 13'.

Griechen mit der Seele suchend ", had had translated for himself and at his expense works by Bryennius and others, mentioned by Cesari (*Op. cit.*, p. 20), unfortunately without library signature, as existing in Lodi and Verona. Further, there is the Harley manuscript 3306, London, Br. Mus., a translation, according to the 3rd volume of the Catalogue, of the Harmonics of Ptolemy, copied by Gafori in 1499, and a volume printed about 1485 containing translations from Plato which had been bought by Gafori in 1489[7]. Incidentally, it may be remarked that those Greek musical theorists were for Gafori of less importance than was Anselmi. On one occasion Gafori's mania for marginal notes applied itself in a particularly unfortunate manner, namely, in the printed copy of the treatise by Ramis de Pareia which had been lent to him by Spataro and which Gafori returned full of polemical marginals[8]. We do not wish, however, to go into this much quoted controversy of musical theorists, which grouped on the one side Ramis and Spataro as quasi-progressives, and on the other side Burzio, Gafori and Barth. Philippineus (1521) as quasi-conservatives.

Now we may ask ourselves when it is that Gafori became acquainted with our treatise that was to be so important to him. The answer is furnished up to a point by the autograph on fol. 48, according to which when Gafori possessed this manuscript he was already Maestro di Cappella in Milan; and this he was from 1484. A swift comparison between the first two editions of Gafori's *Theorica Musicae*, or *Theoricum opus* (1480 and 1492) points in the same direction, and makes it seem likely that Gafori should have got acquainted with our treatise between those dates. A fully detailed comparison between the two versions is drawn by Cesari in his new edition where he reproduces the version of 1492 and in his introduction indicates the variants. These variants are considerable: the second edition is more detailed, as Gafori has woven the results of his wider reading into it; consequently we find here (and later in the *Practica musicae* published in 1496) put in evidence on the margins many names of authors that are quoted in the text.

[7] See the facsimile of Gafori's autograph of ownership as reproduced by G. Kinsky in his *Versteigerung von Musikbuechern . . . aus dem Nachlass . . . W. Heyer . . .* 1927, p. 81.

[8] Cf. the new edition of Ramis published by J. Wolf, 1901, p. IX f.; we may be thankful that the marginal notes by Gafori were reproduced in it. This appears to have happened in 1489; it is true that as mentioned by Wolf, this date seems to be contradicted by another circumstance, but Cesari in the *Rivista mus. ital.*, XXIX, 27, has removed all doubt on the subject.

Cesari (*Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 20) ascribes the " amplificazione erudita " in the first chapter to the wider outlook which Gafori had in the meantime gained from Greek theory; but also passages quoted from Anselmi in Chapter 1: " De musicis effectibus atque commendatione musice discipline " and in Chapter 2 " De musica mundana " are not in the first edition.

Here incidental mention should be made of yet another manuscript: the manuscript of *Theoricum opus* belonging to P. Hirsch, with which I first became acquainted at an exhibition organized by the " Schola Cantorum " of Basel. The version of the work contained in it resembles in the order of the chapters the edition of 1480 and not that of 1492. It is curious that the manuscript version is not dedicated either to Cardinal Arcimboldi (as the 1480 edition) or to Ludovico Sforza (as the second edition), but to a Count Anton of Gevara who, as we gather from a poem of dedication at the end (fol. 62), came from Spain and was in the service of King " Ferrandus ". Clearly this must be King Ferdinand of Naples in whose capital Gafori dwelt between 1478 and 1480 and where he published the first edition of his *Theoricum Opus*. From all this we make out that the manuscript version is still older than the first edition and that Count Anton died between 1478 and 1480 – otherwise Gafori, with all his diplomatic ability, could hardly have dedicated the first edition to another. The manuscript however contains marginal references to authors which do not appear in the first edition owing perhaps to its small size. It is interesting that in this, obviously the oldest version, the explicit (" Franchini Gaffori Laudensis musices professoris pars prima de musice discipline theorica et speculatione ascripta explicit foeliciter. Laus Deo ", fol. 62) and the title (" Franchini Gafori Laudensis musice professoris pars prima musice speculationis . . .", fol. 2') alredy refer to the plan of the *Practica musicae* which first appeared in 1496; this confirms what has been indicated by Cesari (p. 25). In this regard let us remember that also of the *Practica musicae* there exists a manuscript about nine years older than the first edition (see Cesari, p. 25). The manuscript version should, therefore, date, at least as far as the dedication is concerned, between 1478 and 1480.

At any rate there is evidence to show that the version of the *Theoricum opus* in that manuscript is later than 1471. In the third chapter of the first book, in connection with the doctrine by which body and soul are joined in accordance with " the natural order of consonances ",

a " Reconciliator " is cited, which subordinates all other sciences to " natural music "; " Reconciliator " is written on the margin. In the same passage in the printed edition of 1492, instead of " Reconciliator " we find " Petrus Aponenseis " (on the margin " Petrus "), and the same thing occurs in the edition of 1480, but without the marginal note. (This we infer from the fact that Cesari does not mention a variant). In order to judge the importance of this reference and other references to the same author, we must next ascertain who he is. He is Pietro d'Abano, mentioned also as Petrus de Appono, or Petrus Aponensis, who lived from 1250 to 1315 and was professor of medicine and also astrologer in Padua between 1306 and 1314[9]. A work of his appeared in 1471 under the title: *Conciliator differentiarum philosophorum et praecipue medicorum*; his *Expositio problematum Aristotelis* appeared in 1475. The latter is important for the newly revived study of Greek musical theory, as it concerns those pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems* which partly also deal with music; (these, as is known, have been dealt with by Gevaert and Stumpf and other musicologists as well). We can now establish that the *Problems* were quoted by Gafori both in the 1492 edition and in that of 1480 (see IV 4, V 1 and V 8 and variants mentioned by Cesari). Here then, Gafori appears to have known the *Problemata-Expositio* which came out in 1475. I have not seen the version of this chapter in the above named manuscript. However, as mentioned before, in the manuscript version of I 3, Gafori does not yet appear to know Petrus Aponensis as the author of the " Reconciliator " of 1471; we can therefore assume that Gafori did not know at that time the *Problemata–Expositio* of 1475. Yet this does not preclude the possibility that the manuscript version of the *Theoricum opus* may have been made after 1475, as it is not necessary that Gafori should have become acquainted with the *Problemata-Expositio* as soon as it appeared.

To conclude, the position, as we see it for the moment – owing to our scanty knowledge of the manuscript version – is as follows: the manuscript version in which Gafori appears to know the " Reconciliator " contains a dedication written between 1478 and 1480; in the printed edition of 1480 Gafori already knows the *Problemata–Expositio* which appeared in 1475.

[9] See *Biographisches Lexicon der hervorragenden Aerzte* ... I, 1884, under Abano.

We shall now try to have a glimpse of Anselmi's treatise.

The title, in the form of a rubric in Gafori's hand on fol. 5, reads: " Praestantissimi ac clarissimi musici, artium medicinaeque ac astrologiae consumatissimi Georgii Anselmi Parmensis de musica, dieta prima balnearum ". There follows a short dedication to Petrus Rubeus (Pietro Rossi). Anselmi sends him in April 1434, in accordance with his wish, the manuscript account of the discussions held by the two friends during the previous September in the Baths of Corsena. The treatise is, in fact, written in the form of a dialogue between " Petrus et Georgius collocutores ". Petrus figures as the somewhat long-winded teacher, while Georgius restricts himself to short entries, mostly in the form of questions. (Whether the discussions were really carried on in this way or whether this is only a refined form of flattery adressed to Petrus is what remains to be ascertained).

The first part ends on fol. 17'; rubric: " Celestis harmonie dieta prima explicit ". At the end of the second part (fol. 29') is: " Dieta secunda de harmonia instrumentali explicit. " At the beginning of the third part (fol. 30) we read: " Georgii Anselmi dieta tertia de harmonia cantabili ". The last explicit (fol. 48) we have already quoted. The three parts correspond to the three days which the friends spent sitting together in the Baths. The first deals with cosmic music (a subject to which Gafori also devotes considerable space at the beginning of his *Theoricum opus* and then particularly in his *Harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* of 1518); the second part deals with the tonal system both according to the ancient cithara and to the modern monochord, and the third part with what we can consider " practical music ": choral singing (with the Guidonian scale, mutations and Church tones) and mensural music (i. e., mensural notation, followed by a brief account of discant and counterpoint) – these two being the principal items in practical musical teaching.

Thus, in the important series of subdivisions in music which have been handed down to us (and which G. Pietzsch dealt with in 1929) we discover yet another *nuance*: actually what is here described in the second part as " instrumentalis " and in the third part as " cantabilis " does not entirely correspond to what we understand by " instrumental " and " vocal " (as we cannot assume that the theory of intervals in the second part does not concern vocal music, or that the mensural music in the third part has nothing to do with instruments); that distinction, however, comes very close to ours; it shows that mensural music was

primarily considered as vocal music; and it is interesting to note that church tones are treated separately and do not come into the mathematical computation of intervals of the " instrumental " tone system.

Although Anselmi must be considered in many regards as a humanist, he does not merely delight in loquacious speeches adorned with antique names, but he is also a constructive thinker in the Mediaeval sense. In this respect he is superior to Gafori; on the other hand his theories are not based on the authority of a practical musician, which is what makes Gafori important as formulator of the rules of counterpoint. Anselmi's treatise is not only a work on the theory of music, but also a monument of the revival of Platonism in the first half of the 15th Century (though Platonism had not entirely died out in the Middle Ages).

It cannot be denied that only a complete edition will do justice to Anselmi's treatise. This will not hinder us however from anticipating it by offering here a few samples of it. These will also show how the condition in which our treatise has come down to us makes Gafori's corrections really very necessary, although not in all cases where they would have been needed such corrections were made. I enclose Gafori's corrections in normal brackets, as far as I can distinguish in the photographic copy before me what was there originally from the inserted corrections, and as long as it is not purely a question of spelling ; my own suggested corrections I enclose in square brackets. A few errors in spelling have been corrected without recording them.

A.

The conclusion of the first book, on the harmony of the spheres, (fol. 16') reads:

" . . . neque modo harmoniam unam sphera unica continuo profert, sed pluriformes phthongos et limmata et dieses et commata, ut spiritus illi felices modo cum sonitu sue sphere, modo cum cum eis qui proximis insident, nunc causatu (cantu) precedere, nunc sequi, nunc insequi, nunc concurrere videantur, atque mirando harmonie ludo semper dulcius concertare credantur. Cum vero sphera [spheram ?] queque [quamque ?] non modo contiguarum comparatione, verum et ad se presidentesque sibi spiritus consonos edere cantus equum fuerit, quatenus per motus harmonia illa celestis convalescat per amplius, nimirum huic unaqueque secundum plurimos motus ejus ac suarum partium concentus alios et alios – gravissimus equidem est

sonitus quem sphera motu proprio commota prodit, consonus autem et acutissimus, quem eo motu quem diurnum appellamus efficit; at medius inter hos, precipue autem in errantibus septem, cum spatia celi peragant que nominantur aspectuum loca. Hemitonia vero perficiunt parvuli illi circuli quos epicyclos Greci cognominant; at dieses et commata corpora stellas [stellarum ?], cum eos percurrunt epicyclo; quanto vero sonitus edunt graviores, quarum est modus [motus ?] naturalis tardior, eo sunt acutiores quos motu diurno produnt. Est vero harmonia, quam reddunt commoti celi naturalibus motibus, attinens dyatonico [generi]; et est sonitus quem sphera Saturni [facit], comparatus sphere Jovis, sicut diapason diapente; illa enim quod in annis fere 30 complet naturali cursu spatium, in 72 perficit fere que Jovis. Concentus autem sphere Jovis ad eum quem Martis efficit sphera, est sicut disdiapason. Sphere autem Martis ad eum, quem sphere Solis et Veneris et Mercurii est, sicut diapason diapente, ad quem [atque ?] sphera Solis et sequentium ad eum quem sphera Lune grandem [?] consonat harmoniam triplam videl. diapason [either triplam = diapason diapente, or duplam = diapason !]. Modulatio vero diurno motu proveniens chromatico magis attinet; stelle enim omnes, tam errantes quam cetere, singulas per horas facies convertunt suas, nunc ad Orientem, nunc ad Meridiem, nunc ad Occidentem et Septentriones, et ad omnis celestis giri partes revolute chromatico simile produnt. Enarmonico vero persimilis est sonitus que [quem] ad invicem comparate sphere, sive consocias [consocietates ?] errantium septem, ad commensurata spatia tertii (terminis) harmonicis pervenientes produnt; que quidem loca aspectuum nominata sunt. Sunt autem diametri et sextilis et quartus et ternus. In isdem terris (terminis) relatum diametri spatium ad primum diapason vicem resonat; et pariter sextilis ad ternum diapason et ipse; at si sextilis ad quartum referatur, diapente resonabit; siquidem quartum ad ternum, diatessaron. Non est autem unus modus idem, quem celi omnes felicesque hi spiritus [qui] in his insident decantant; sed pro illorum diversitate tam diversus quam consonus. Quo enim amplius diversi sunt concentus, eo magis magisque et dulcius resonant. Supersedent autem spiritus hi secundum suos ordines, et per eorum ad spheras congruentiam, quatenus omnis harmonie vis redundet. (f. 17) Sunt vero spiritus quos Socrates in Republica Platonis Syrenas nominavit, cum singulas orbibus singulis insidere dixit. Interpretatur vero Syren deus canens per pius [? Gafori, *Theoricum opus*, 1492, I 1, cites this passage from Anselmi and reads: canens, sed proprius] incessantes a cantu spiritus, sicut spheras a motu significari voluit. Nostri vero theologi melius spiritus hos angelos appellant et in ordines novem distinguunt, dantes unicuique nomen [this word struck out by Gafori ?] suum ordinem. Eos quidem quos absolute Angelos nomine nuncupant, nuntiantes videl. divinam voluntatem in terris, elementorum orbem ad hominum tutelam inhabitare dicunt, testes cantorum (cunctorum) que dicimus queque agimus. Ordo vero secundus est eorum quos Archan-

gelos vocant, orbi presidentes lunari; horum est officium, cum quid extra nature cursum divina fuerit meditata voluntas, nuntios esse speciales. Est vero tertius ordo eorum qui nominantur Virtutes; per hos demonstrat Deus miracula magna et portenta mondo, que futurorum gravissimorum et communium signa sunt; horum sedes est Mercurii celum. Quartus est eorum ordo, qui Potestates appellantur; horum celum Veneris est sedes; hi cohercent spiritus malignos et immundos, ne mondo generabilium, proprie vero nature humane, cujus insidiis semper sunt [intenti], quantum optant, nocere valeant. Quintus est eorum ordo qui dicuntur Principatus; horum sedes est sphera Solis; presunt (autem) agminibus angelorum, quorum effectum (officium) est aut absistere [assistere] aut administrare omniporenti Deo, subvenire quoque principibus mondi, quantum valent, ad rectam gubernationem monarchie. Sextus est eorum qui dicti sunt Dominationes; hi spheram Martis inhabitant; sunt quoque duces arm(at)orum agminum angelorum; agmina hec suis ducibus obediunt, qualiter imperatoribus milites; cohibent autem in terris injuste pugnantes, et adjutorio sunt justis hominibus. Septimus est horum ordo qui Throni appellantur; sunt [habent ?] autem Throni sedes in Joviali insidere [?] orbi; et per hos Deus leges et decreta suaque pronuntiant [pronunciat] indicta (judicia). Octavus (ordo) est illorum qui Cherubin dicti sunt; hujus nominis interpretatio (scientie) sua [?] multitudo; insident hi vero sphere Saturni; sunt vero horum agmina propter vicinitatem ad summam sapientiam omni possibili sapientia complecti. Nonus est horum ordo quos Seraphin appellant, hoc est ardentes; hi et sapientia et potestate et felicitate omnes excedunt ceteros angelorum ordines, letitia quoque, suntque supra creata omnia bono omni perfecti, (ideoque ardentes dicti), quod ampliori participatione divini luminis intensior flamma et amoris et letitie ac perfectionis concessa est; faciem quoque divinam velare dicti sunt quod infra illos positi spiritus et anime divinum aspectuum [aspectum], nisi parum, pati queunt [nequeunt], quasi prohibeant [ille Seraphin]; horum sedes est octava sphera. Est vero Angelus effiti (officii) nomen, non nature; celeres autem sunt et omnino infatigabiles, discurrentens pro necessitate, tempore non percepto; atque ideo pictorum licentia finguntur alati. Huic autem sphere [none] spirituum nullus insidere perhibetur. Est enim celi eterni locus, ad quem nulli infra eum creature accessus est. Comprehendit vero hic orbis infra se orbium melodiam, omnem penitus harmoniam exsuperans. Ideoque ibi Uranem musam poetarum quidam posuerunt, eam quidem que ex musis novem, quas Jovis et memorie filias finxerunt, omnem dicendi dulcedinem complectitur et superat, siquidem theologi, decimum asserentes celum Dei altissimi sedem, novam [nonam] eam nulli habitatam dixerunt. Nulla enim infra Deum altissimum res (f. 17') divine et ineffabili ejus majestati aut meretur aut potest prior fieri, neque omnino posse [potest ?] tantum vigorem tamque exsuperantem pati, aut concipi cognitione; esse siquidem omnia [dicunt] ad illam sicut oculi niticoracis [?] ad lucem. Habes, mi Giorgi,

sub compendio celestem harmoniam, quam utinam forem eloquio aut re consecutus! Majus equidem est, quam lingua possit attingi vel mente; nulla siquidem, quantum existimo ego, res aut major aut gravior aut intellectu dignior; sed divinas voces audire humana refugit auris. Mens tamen, si ad celos eorumque conductorem Deum [se] converterit, nihil intellectu suavius, nihil optabilius profecto judicabit; cupietque his ea mens vinculis dissolvi, atque illis sacratissimis spiritibus associari, unde fuit ejus primarius exortus; quibus profecto, si modo promeruerit, non inferior fiet. Sed jam aque nos pergravant, et tempus diei hujus disputandis his plene consumsimus. Jam ergo propinam opportune adeamus expectantem.

B.

In discussing the tonal system, Anselmi begins by describing the ancient "Cithara", i. e., the two octaves system (Systema teleion), with the names of the tones from Proslambanomenos to Nete hyperboleon (fol. 19). The tones are marked from the highest to the lowest with proportional numbers from 2304 to 9216 – corresponding to the length of the strings (fol. 19'). The chromatic and enharmonic forms of the two octaves system are computed as well (fol. 20'-21'). The species of fourths, fifths and octaves are enumerated nearly in the ancient way, but curiously enough the seven species of octaves are counted from higher to lower – from Nete hyperboleon-Mese to Paramese-Hypate Hypaton (fol. 23)[10].

At this stage Anselmi starts to deal with the "new instrument, called monochord" (fol. 23'). The monochord has eight strings identical in tone; obviously a single string would have been sufficient, but – so the author seems to assume – this plurality of strings offers the instrument greater musical possibilities[11]. Anselmi calls the stops "tactus". Originally the monochord had fifteen stops corresponding to the fifteen differently tuned strings of the ancient cithara. It was then brought to contain twenty-nine "tactus", that is, four octaves. The deepest tone (fol. 24) lies one octave below the Proslambanomenos and corresponds to number 18432, the highest lies one octave above the Nete Hyperboleon and corresponds to number 1152.

[10] For the ancient reckoning see *Musici Scriptores graeci*, 1895, 197 and following.

[11] Compare also fol. 26', as well as *Acta mus.* XVI, 6; Ptolemaeus I 11 and I 15 refers to the eight stringed "canon", whille in II 12 he emphasizes the practical drawbacks of the plain monochord, and in III 1 he anticipates even a fifteen stringed instrument.

It would however be a mistake to assume that the author uses the same division for the "new" system as for the "old". He observes, to begin with, that one octave of the old system corresponds, starting from the lower tones, to a pentachord plus a tetrachord, and that an octave of the new system is, viceversa, a tetrachord plus a pentachord. (This opinion, emphasized by Gafori who quotes it again on the margin, is wrong, or at least exaggerated). After this Anselmi gives (fol. 24') the distances of tones in the new system in a way that – according to our mode of expression – results in a major octave, though the two octaves of the old system, which are minor octaves, correspond spatially to the two central octaves of the new system, and though the tones of one of the octaves of the new system are indicated with *a b c d e f g*. We must therefore understand these letters to be geometrical indications, or schematic points – unless we see in them a reminiscence of the old "Frankish" tone designations of pre-Guidonian times. For this system too all proportional numbers are calculated. Again the three species of fourths, the four species of fifths and the seven species of octaves are reviewed, and it appears that they occupy a different place here than on the "Cithara"; the seven species of octaves (fol. 25') follow in the same succession as above with the Greek names of the tones delimiting them, and the "tactus" of the monochord on which they fall are recorded. It is then shown how on this instrument *all* full tones are divided into semitones: by measuring from the highest tone downwards a full tone is meausered in the proportion of 8 : 9; from the tone thus obtained another full tone is measured and so on; the tones are therefore altogether forty-nine (fol. 26).

Now (fol. 26') the author goes on to describe the construction of the monochord as an instrument and to give a practical method for dividing the strings. Unexpectedly, he inscribes the lowest tone on the instrument with the letter *G* and the other tones with those following (fol. 27) – *G-F*, consequently, or *g-f*, instead of the series *a-g* formerly used and which meant *c-b*. These letters which are to be inscribed on the instrument should indeed be interpreted as tone designations; but, as the distance between the highest tone and the following is a semitone, *f* corresponds to our *f* sharp ! An empirical division of strings is given here for the semitones: the distance on the string between the lowest and the second tone (*G-A*) is divided into nine parts, and on the fifth division mark one finds the semitone *G* sharp on which all other semitones (*c* sharp etc.) are measured. Here Anselmi adds

(fol. 27') that the measure given for strings holds good for organ pipes as well; and this leads to a digression on the proportion of organ pipes (fol. 27'-28) which I once published in the Johannes Biehle-Festschrift.

On the margin of fol. 27 Gafori gives a tonal table covering four octaves; in it he indicates by *g f* the majoroctave in conformity with the text. Curiously enough he gives on fol. 28 a new table covering four octaves in which the major octave is designated by *A-G* or *a-g* – a return to the designations used on fol. 24! (In both cases the semitones between the full tones are indicated merely with points).

The rest of the second book (fols. 28'-29') deals with interval proportions.

C.

The third book, as we said, deals first with the tonal system of Church melodies. It begins (fol. 30) with some clever remarks on the relation between singing and instrumental music, and on the reason why all the ancients "vim harmonicam in instrumentis posuerunt" (they demonstrated on the instrument the tonal system built on proportions). Fol. 30': clerics are responsible for making singing the basis of music (a correct historical remark), and it was Gregory who is believed to have fixed strict limits to singing by placing antiphones, responsories and graduals under precise rules, presumably so that clerics should not stray from them, hankering after ornaments of song.

At this point we have the important passage on the relation of this tonal system to the "instrumental" (fol. 30'):

Magistri cantabilis harmonie distinxerunt voces in graves, acutas et superacutas, et posuerunt differentias gravium vocum septem et acutarum totidem, superacutarum vero quinque tantum; et in harum numero gravium quidem (et) acutarum conveniunt cum harmonia instrumentali – quam hesterna die monstravimus 15 cordulis decantari et octavam, diapason, ad primam et 15., bis diapason, in acumine ceteros consonantiarum modos his intercludi, post [i. e., postea] vero citharedas novos superaddidisse in monochordo novo quatuor quosdam tactus, quinque alios, sed et adusque 29 numero produci posse. Has vero vocum differentias [the tones of the vocal system] latinis litteris septem notaverunt *A b c d e f g*, et gravissimam gravium [the lowest tone of the first octave] signaverunt *A* . . .Vocum vero differentias . . . syllabicis sex nominationibus vocaverunt u t , r e , m i , f a , s o l , l a ; visum est siquidem satis esse non ultra quintam vociferationem continendum cantum sub eadem qualitate, sed vocem ad aliam inflectendam [here the solmisation

syllables are appropriately characterised as designations of tonal quality]. ... Disposuerunt vero syllabicas has vocales sub litteris assignatis, sed sub litteris certis replicantes. Jam vero prediximus sub *a* littera vocum initium gravium, acutarum et superacutarum [the Gamma]. Itaque sub *g* littera dispositum est *ut*, hoc autem est prim[a] syllabarum vocalium; et *g* premiserunt *a* littere ... sub tribus *g c f* primum *ut* reponunt ... Ideoque fit ut sub quibusdam [meaning the letters of the scale] sint due, sub quibusdam tres harum syllabarum vocalium disposite ... sub eadem quantitate vocis proferende [again are meant the tones denoted by letters of the alphabet], qualitate tamen diversa ...

In other words: the vocal tone system goes from *A* upwards, and thus its two first octaves correspond structurally to the ancient system. The letters are here used in the sense familiar to us, while they did not appear in connection with the ancient system. The *G* under the first *A* is an added tone as regards the system, but as regards the solmisation it is a starting point. (Strangely enough this tone is not designated with a Greek gamma, while on the other hand the figure ꞵ is derived from a double and inverted Greek gamma).

The page folio 31 recto had been left empty, apparently to be filled in by a solmisation table, and this was done by Gafori. Fol. 31' should have contained the Guidonian hand, but here Gafori did not intervene. In the same way, on fols. 35-41, the space for the examples of Church tones was unfortunately left empty. (The latter are already viewed here in their sub-forms of " perfecti ", " plus quam perfecti ", " imperfecti ", " mixti " and " commixti ").

D.

Finally the author deals with the practice of polyphony (fol. 47'):

Ultra discantum quandoque tertius cantor in eadem cantilena superadjungitur cantans. Hunc contrapunctum cantare dicunt; et ejus est ejus movens, ut voces proferat cantabiles, concordes nunc quidem tenoriste, nunc discantori, sive graviores vel acutiores, vel quantitate pares vel qualitates [sive ? scil. ?] pro tempore suo, quandoque vero alteri concordes et alteri discordes. Ita si convenerint quatuor aut plures cantores, unusquisque voces profert quam potest consonas, et suis temporibus quandoque quidem tenoriste, quandoque discantori, quandoque contracantori, quandoque proprias discordes, non tamen dissonas non compatientes. Es vero in dispositione cantilenarum semper evitandum, ne voces nimium dissonast apponat vel

proferat cantor sive tenorista, vel discantans, aut alius. Tenorem quidem cantans, et discantans plurimum proferant voces concordes, proportionibus quas diximus, dissonas quidem (i. e. tertias et sextas) que sese compatiuntur rarius, ut semper prolatis duabus aut tribus vocibus concordes fiant, diatessaron aut diapente aut alia ex proportionibus consonis, commutando nunc ad harum unam, nunc ad aliam, ut non frequentius redeant super eandem proportionem voces, nisi fortassis quantitate differentes et qualitate protulerint. Fugiat rursus cantor inusitatas et perstrepentes voces, et in quibus est opus grandi et inhonesto oris hiatu [this is nearly the same as in Gafori, *Practica*, III, 15], quod si fiat, rarissimum sit et pro joco; et item voces nimia gravitate remissas aut majori acuitate prolatas, ut non sepius 15-am iteret, aut altiorem; he voces audientium sensus obtundunt, ille negligentes reddunt; et neque in univocis nimium est vocibus insistendum; citissime etenim fastidiunt, non minus quam eadem proportione consone. Neque rursus frequentes nimis interponat pausas, immo neque quotiens pausat tenorista, is ipse pauset qui discantum profert [NB !], etsi quandoque id deceat. Numquam tres aut plures simul cantantes pausent eodem tempore; sic neque, nisi raro, eadem conveniant voce; et si quis medius cantat, nunc graviori voci, nunc acutiori, [sive tenoriste] sive discantori fit concors, quandoque quidem uterque utrique. Unde cum a tenore discantans vel ad octavam vocem effert ipse, [vel] ad quartam aut ad quintam, et sic versa vice, cum quando discantans ad quartam aut quintam vocem extulerit, is [i. e., medius ?] ad octavam vel 11-am vel 12-am aut 15-am [vocem efferat]. Est vero decens, ut accipiat cantus voces communes, et quas est aptus cantor communiter proferre sine labore multo, tam quantitate quam qualitate; et cum eandem repetit vocem, sive cum pausam requirit, sive cum post pausam convertitur ad cantum, hoc quidem ei bis aut ter concedi potest, quin quandoque suavem et ornatum efficit cantum; et item cum cantus initio et post pausas eadem vocis canti [struck out by Gafori ?] quantitate fuerit usus et qualitate, nec minus ante pausam. Quandoque rursus a gravi ad acutum efferre vocem, et contra, suave fit, si modo non fuerit ad extremum nimis, sed octavam adusque vel nonam. Accomodanda est insuper cantus suavitas ad verba cantilene, ut cum de amore et mortis petitione fuerint verba [Monteverdi !] et lamentationes [V. Galilei !] et elegia, sunt cantabiles voces proferende ut pro posse ejulabiles [while Gafori, *Practica*, III 15, says of the same, referring to Venice: quum de amore vel mortis petitione aut quavis lamentatione fuerint verba, flebiles pro posse sonos – ut Veneti solent – pronuntiet et disponat]; et cum indignationis verba sunt et increpationis, asperas efferre voces et duriores et spissiores decet; cum sunt laudis verba, medias et qualitate et quantitate. Suave vero fit in cantu, cum ad acutum effertur vox una et sequens remittitur ad grave, vel contra. Si sit bis aut ter, proferatur ita, ut non semper repleantur consonantiarum intervalla. Sic quandoque [si] discantans occurrens tenori unisonum cantum faciat, non insuave

fit, quin si quandoque graviores proferat voces et acutiores tenorista. Convenit item et (f. 48) suave fit in fine cantilene breviarum notarum tempora et celeriter et cursim finales proferre voces, quasi epilogatio fiat cantus. – Jam tempus est has egredi aquas, cum plurimum nos gravent; et satis nobis videtur omnem de harmonia disputationem attigisse pro tempore, etsi fortassis plura dicenda forent [end of the work].

* * *

Having thus given the reader an initial notion of Georgius Anselmi's treatise on music, we are faced with the problem of the relation of the treatise, as a source, to Gafori's work. This problem would need a thorough study by itself and could only be solved by examining it in relaeion to other works on musical theory that were in Gafori's possession and were marked by him with marginal notes (see above). Here we shall only touch upon those passages where on the margins of Gafori's works Anselmi is quoted as an authority, though, it is understood, the exact passage in Anselmi is not given but referred to in a general way with " in tertio ", or " in primo ". The material before me at the moment, apart from Cesari's edition of the *Theoricum opus*, consists of the 1502 edition of *Practica musicae* (which first appeared in 1496) and my own notes taken from *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*, of 1518. By this way it appears that most of the references can be found in the *Practica musicae*, i. e., Book I, Chapter 4, in connection with mutation, three times (the passages referred to are fols. 32', 33' ? and 34 according to our manuscript); II 3, where, in connection with notational figures, Gafori mentions the division of the full tone into four parts (the passage referred to is probably fol. 34, though 12' and 13' might come into it too); II 4, twice, the first time in connection with the *longa plica* (fol. 42) and the three kinds of breves and semi-breves (major, minor, media), the second time in connection with certain strange forms of mensural notes which can be found in Anselmi (fol. 46'); II 5, in connection with ligatures (fol. 43'); II 7, where in connection with modus it is said that a note should not be considered to represent more than a value of nine *tempora* (fol. 46', or even 43', 42', 41', 41); II 9, in connection with prolations (fol. 43); II 11, in connection with imperfection (fol. 42 ? 45 ?); III 1, in connection with " ars contrapuncti " (fol. 45'). In the *Theoricum opus*, we find three references in I 1; the first concerns Syrens (fol. 16–17, specially 17); another concerns the tenth heaven (fol. 17), and the third places

Anselmi by the side of Ugolino da Orvieto[12], both being " securus interpres " of Boetius[13]. Then we find two references in I 2: the first concerns proportions in the construction of the world (fol. 15'), the second ascribes to Anselmi the measurement of the distance between the sphere of Saturn and the moon with 3 octaves – which does not seem to be right (compare the passage from fol. 16' above). In the *Harmonia musicorum instrumentorum*, which even in the title recalls Anselmi's " harmonia instrumentalis ", there is a reference in II 39 to Anselmi's system of four octaves with proportional numbers 18432 to 1152 (fol. 24, see above). In II 40 reference is made to how Anselmi empirically inserts the semitones between the full tones (fol. 27', see above). On the whole one can say that Gafori's references often concern the very passages which are emphasized in our manuscript by means of marginal notes. Gafori does not in every case agree with Anselmi.

In this connection, to complete my essay in the Biehle-Festschrift, let me still transcribe the end of the last named chapter (*De harmonia* II 40), which is certainly an echo of Anselmi's digression on the measures of organ pipes, although Anselmi is not quoted in it:

" Nec secus in organorum canulis conspicies: quum longioribus breviores, et artiores latioribus fuerint proportionabiliter copulatae. Expertum enim est de longitudinis ratione ad concavitatem canularum, eam mediocrem et suavem sonitum fistulam educere, cujus longitudo novem ipsius concavitatis diametris coaequatur. Asperum vero et altum dat canula sonum, quando septem concavitatis diametris et unius medietati longitudo fuerit aequalis. Per strepitum insuper garrit canulae sonitus, quum septem concavitatis diametris par fuerit longitudo. Id quoque naturaliter accidit, quod propulsus idem atque eadem potentia spiritus per canulam longiorem tardius ad summum percurret, celerius per breviorem; quodsi canula amplior latiorve fuerit, quietius, per artam vero majore impetu. Quo fit, ut quum folles aerem sonorum aequo vigore per longiores aut ampliores canulas impellunt, magis quietum et gravem sonum emittant, e contra magis asperum et acutum transiens spiritus per breviores et artiores. Quod licet ita sit, necessum tamen est canulas ipsas sese invicem et longitudine et latitudine proportionabiliter custodire ".

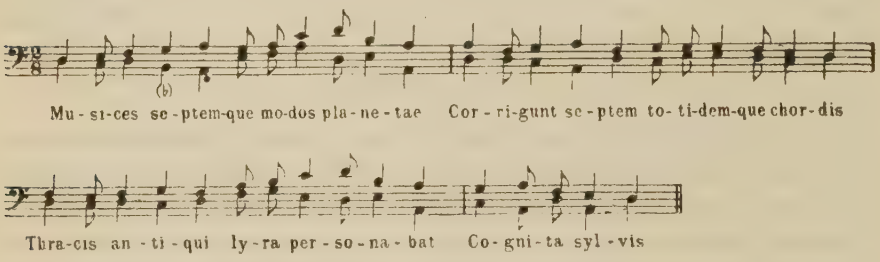
[12] This theorist, who was active around, 1400, should be remembered when we try to place Anselmi against his own background.

[13] Cesari, *Op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 20, erroneously reads " secutus " instead of " securos ".

Some of the corrections and completions inserted by Gafori in our manuscript show that he must have had another copy of the treatise before him for comparison – a copy which was obviously more correct but had not the honour of belonging to Gafori (see fols. 5, 13', 18, 26', 29' etc.)

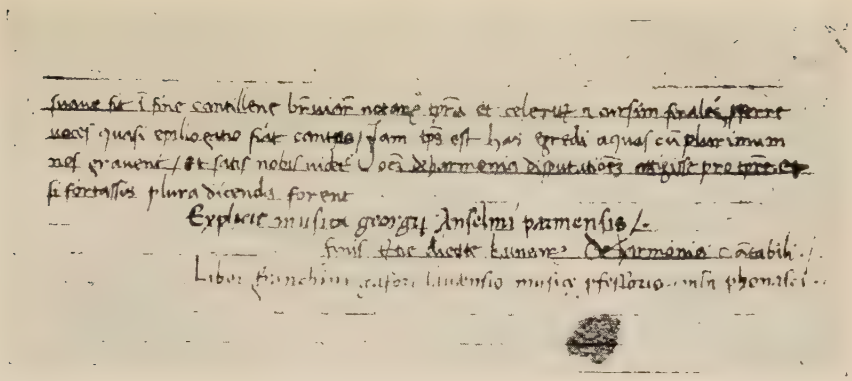
APPENDIX

Not only does Franchino Gafori (Franchinus Gafurius) dwell extensively on the harmony of the spheres at the beginning of the *Theoricum opus* and at the end of the *Harmonia musicorum instrumentorum* but in the latter work he prints (IV 10) a poem on the subject, written in metrical verse by a humanist, and accompanies it with two melodies, a "dorian" and a "hypodorian" one, which complete each other forming a two-voice song (fol. 89). Here is the setting with one strophe of the text:


Mu - si-ces se - ptem-que mo-dos pla - ne - tae Cor - ri-gunt se - ptem to- ti-dem-que chor-dis
Thra-cis an - ti - qui ly-ra per - so - na - bat Co- gni- ta syl - vis

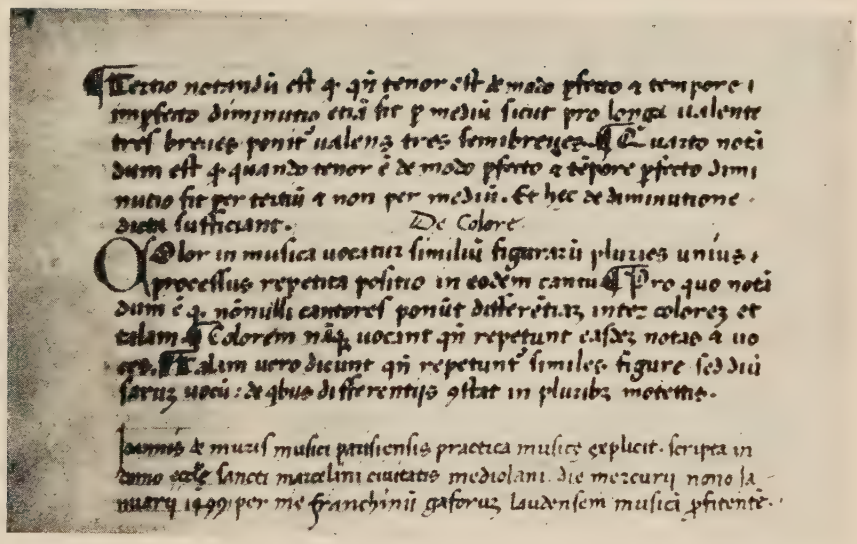
The setting is interesting not only melodically but also rhythmically, in so far as Gafori, according to the humanistic system, sets the long and the short syllables in the proportion of 2 : 1, and yet, as he writes down the time measure as *imperfectum diminutum*, the effect produced is somewhat like a syncopated binary rhythm. There is no doubt that musically Gafori is superior to Anselmi. On the other hand, what he says of the harmony of the spheres is in a greater degree composed of anecdotes and quotations, more humanistic and less philosophic, than what Anselmi gives us.

Basel, formerly St. Petersbourg.



Explicit musica georgij Anselmi parmensis.

Liber franchini gafori laudensis musice professoris phonasci



Tertio notandū est q. q̄n tenor est de modo perfecto a tempore i
mperfecto diminuto etiā sit p medii sicut pro longa ualente
tres breues ponit ualenz tres semibreues. Quarto notā
dum est q. quando tenor ē de modo perfecto a tēpore perfecto dimi
nuto fit per tertiū a non per medii. Et hec de diminutione
dicta sufficiant. De Colore

Color in musica uocatur similiū figurarū pluries unius
processus repetita positio in eodē cantu. Pro quo notā
dum ē q. nōnulli cantores ponūt differētias inter colorez et
talam. Colorem nāq uocant q̄n repetunt easdē notas a uo
ce. Talam uero dicunt q̄n repetunt' similes figure sed diū
sarū uocū: de quibus differentijs gītur in pluribz motetis.

Iacobi de muris musici parisiensis practica musice explicit. scripta in
anno salutis sancti natalitii ciuitate mediolani. die mercurij nono ia
nuarij 1499. per me franchinū gaforū laudensem musicū professū.

THE INFLUENCE OF *MUSIQUE MESURÉE À L'ANTIQUE*, PARTICULARLY ON THE *AIRS DE COUR* OF THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

D. P. WALKER.

Many French *airs de cour* of the early 17th century, when compared, for example, with English lute-songs, have certain striking rhythmical peculiarities which cannot easily be accounted for. These airs can be divided into two groups. Both have a very free rhythm in which there can be no regular beat, the time signature, if there is any, being quite meaningless; each syllable is usually given only the value of a minim or a crotchet or of their equivalent in notes of smaller values. But the first group obeys a principle in accordance with which the metre of the text is emphasized by long notes at the *coupe* and at the end of the line; whereas the rhythm of the second group is completely free and has no intelligible plan.

It has often been asserted that these peculiarities are due to the influence of *musique mesurée à l'antique* [1]. This is a useful, and in the case of the first group, a very likely conjecture; but it is not a proven fact, as many musicologists seem to suppose, nor a complete explanation. To assess it at its true value we must consider the general relation of *musique mesurée* to the music surrounding it.

This relation is an unusual one. The theories which produced *musique mesurée* closely resemble those of numerous other humanist writers and musicians [2]. Yet the music itself seems to have little connection with any style that preceded it. The theory of *musique mesurée* fits easily into a general historical setting, but Baif's musicians put this theory into practice in such a complete and uncompromising manner that their work stands quite outside the general developement

[1] e. g. Masson in *Bericht über d. II. Kongress d. I. M. G.*, 1907, 182; Warlock, *Preface to French Ayres from Gabriel Bataille*, Oxford, 1926; Rolland in *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, ed. Lavignac & La Laurencie, Pt. I, T. III, Paris, 1921, 1344; Gérold, *L'Art du Chant au xviie siècle.* (Publ. de la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, fasc. I), 1921, 25 seq.

[2] v. Walker, "Musical Humanism in 16th & early 17th centuries," *Music Review*, Cambridge, 1941–2.

of musical language. The double restriction of syllabic homophony[3] and the — = 𝅗𝅥, ⏑ = ♩, rule[4] left only a very small field in which the composers' traditional habits of musical thought could operate. The violent change in rhythm and texture which resulted from these restrictions was not due to the sudden development of some already existing aesthetic tendency but to the ruthless application of two principles of composition that were quite foreign and opposed to any contemporary style.

We have this most unusual situation. By its unswerving obedience to theoretical principles *musique mesurée* was almost completely cut off from the styles and traditions of the music preceding it; but, unlike similar pedantic experiments[5], it did not die after a short and miserable life, but flourished vigorously for over fifty years. It was neither a reaction against, nor a developement of any earlier music. Therefore, apart from its theoretical background, which links it up with earlier and contemporary thought, and regarded simply as music, *musique mesurée* began its history abruptly in 1570[6]. But, once it had become successful appreciated music, it entered the general flow of musical history and may have influenced its course.

That *musique mesurée* should exercise some influence on ordinary music is at least probable. The general rhythm of *musique mesurée* was as clear and easy to hear as that of a dance tune, yet it was as free from an isochronous beat as any individual voice of a polyphonic work, and, inspite of this freedom, it conformed to a regular metrical pattern. These qualities of rhythm and texture made *musique mesurée*

[3] i. e. every syllable of the text is always sung simultaneously by all parts, though any amount of independent figuration is allowed from the beginning of one syllable to the beginning of the next.

[4] i. e. a long in the text is always set with a minim (or its equivalent in notes of smaller value) and a short by a crotchet. The principle is of course the same if — = 𝅗𝅥, ⏑ = 𝅗𝅥, or — = ♩, ⏑ = ♪.

[5] e. g. the revival of the genera (v. Walker, *op. cit.*, II, 114 seq.), or *vers mesures* apart from their music (v. Augé-Chiquet, *La Vie, les Idées & l'Œuvre de J. A. de Baïf*, Paris, 1909).

[6] This statement needs perhaps some qualification. The texture, for example, of some of Le Jeune's *musique mesurée* attains, inspite of syllabic homophony, a surprising degree of rhythmic independence in individual parts, a quality due to the polyphonic habits natural to his period. It might also be claimed that the syllabic homophony of *musique mesurée* was derived from earlier homophonic or partly homophonic songs. This is perhaps partially true, but there is no doubt that the chief reasons for its adoption were theoretical ones.

strikingly different both from learned polyphony and from dance tunes or popular monody. In some measure it combined the good points of both: the rhythmic freedom of the former with the clear texture and regular rhythmic pattern of the latter. Therefore, also taking into account the high aesthetic standard of much *musique mesurée*, it seems natural that there should be a vogue for such unusual yet attractive music, and that, owing to this, the style of ordinary music should be affected by some of these peculiarities of rhythm and texture and by another of its salient qualities, its excellent treatment of text.

There is indeed considerable evidence for the vogue of *musique mesurée* [7]; but the evidence of its influence is of a much more doubtful kind. With the exception of Fabrice Marin Caietain and possibly Monteverdi, no composer nor writer of this time remarks on this influence. One can only point out certain peculiarities in settings of *vers rimés* which may be due to the influence of similar peculiarities in *musique mesurée*. These peculiarities which distinguish *musique mesurée* from other contemporary styles are: its homophonic texture, its " unbarrable " but schematized rhythm, and its excellent treatment of text.

That the texture of *musique mesurée* influenced contemporary and later music has been suggested, even affirmed, by several historians [8]. Some of these were misled by the assumption that *musique mesurée* was performed monodically. Since it was meant to be and was in fact usually performed polyphonically [9], that is, in parts, their views need no refutation. It is, however, likely that *musique mesurée* was an important influence in the general change from a predominantly fugal to a predominantly monodic or homophonic style. This change, which had been slowly developing all through the 16th century, reached its climax at the beginning of the next century, when in France, as in England and Italy, large quantities of lute-songs began to appear. In all countries accompanied solos were immediately preceded by simple 3, 4 or 5 part airs of homophonic texture. These were often arranged as lute-songs, and in some cases it is difficult to decide whether

7 e. g. the publication of large collections of Le Jeune's and du Caurroy's *musique mesurée* between 1594 and 1610, or v. d'Aubigny's account of du Caurroy's conversion to *musique mesurée* (*Œuvres*, ed. Réaume & Caussade, Paris, 1883-92, I, 455, III, 271-274).

8 e. g. Masson, *ibid.*; Rolland, *ibid.*

9 The evidence for this is too bulky to be given here and must form the matter of another article. The few *chansons mesurées* in the Bataille series of lute-songs are of course an exception.

the composer originally conceived his work as a homophonic part song or as an accompanied solo [10]. It was during the last stages of this continuous and gradual change that *musique mesurée* was published. *Musique mesurée* did not hasten the change; for in England, where there was no humanist movement in music, the publication of lute-songs began just as early. But, since the vogue for *musique mesurée* occurred at this crucial time, one would expect it to have some effect on the style of early French monody. The texture of *musique mesurée* was in no way a cause of the triumph of monodic style; homophonic songs began to appear before *musique mesurée* was invented and continued to do so quite independently of it [11]. But, chiefly owing to its homophonic texture, *musique mesurée* slipt into its place in the general development of musical language and became capable of being a source of later styles.

One would expect both the other distinguishing characteristics of *musique mesurée* to affect contemporary and subsequent styles. In fact, with a few exceptions, the excellent treatment of text in *chansons mesurées* is not to be found in the *airs de cour*, but only the beatless 𝅗𝅥 and ♩ rhythm. In two earlier non-monodic works, however, the Airs of Fabrice Marin Caietain [12] and the Balet de la Royne [13], the rhythm of the text is preserved to a remarkable degree, and there is good reason to suppose that the composers were consciously imitating *musique mesurée*.

Fabrice's Airs are a miscellaneous collection: his own settings of *vers mesurés* et *rimés*, *chansons mesurées* by Courville, and ordinary airs by Beaulieu and Nicolas de la Grotte. In the dedication he writes:

> . . . et pour ce que je suis de nation & langue estrangere je pourroy manquer à bien approprier les Airs sur les lettres Françoises, mais come ceux qui veullent profiter aux estudes hantent les lieux ou s'en fait la profession, Moy pareillement me defiant de mes forces, (car je n'ay aucune honte de le declairer), ay frequenté

[10] v. e. g. Gérold, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[11] e. g. numerous songs of Jannequin, or the Chansons of Nicolas de la Grotte, Paris, 1569.

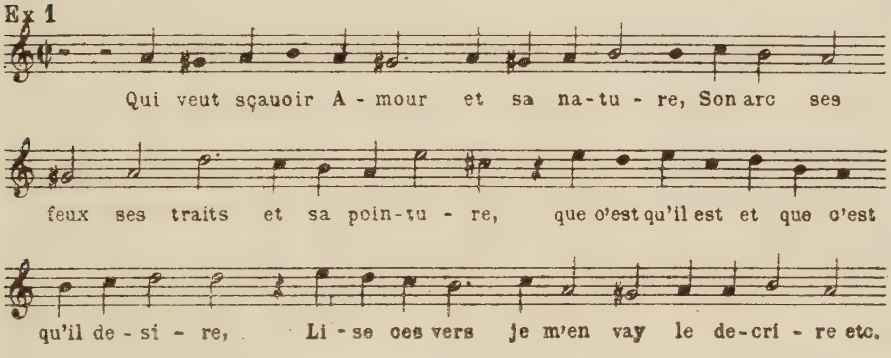
[12] *Airs Mis en Musique à quatre parties . . . sur la Poësie de P. de Ronsard, & autres excellens Poetes.* Premier Livre, Paris, Le Roy & Ballard, 1578; Second Livre, 1578. (Superius and Tenor of both books are in the British Museum; the Bassus should be in the Bibl. Royale at Brussels, but is lost.).

[13] *Balet Comique de la Royne Faict aux nopces de Monsieur le Duc de joyeuse Et de Mademoyselle de Vaudemont, sa sœur, Par Baltazar de Beaujoyeulx . . .*, Paris, Le Roy & Ballard et Mamert Patisson, 1582. (There is an unreliable reprint of the music by Weckerlin; the text, without music, will be found in P. Lacroix, *Ballets et Mascarades de Cour*, Genève, 1868–70, I, 1–87).

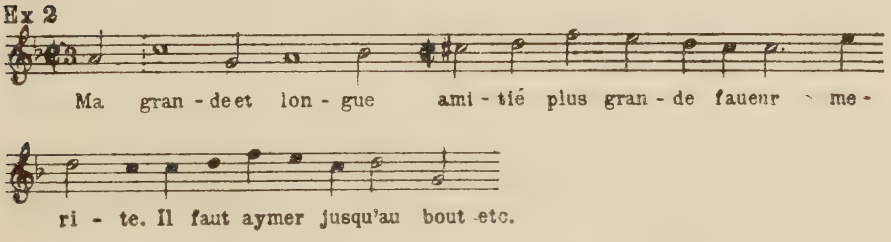
l'escole de Messieurs de Courville & Beaulieu, l'ung Orphee l'autre l'Arion de France, leur vertu & nostre amitié me permettant de les appeller ainsi, car ilz ne sont seulement excelents aux recits de la Lyre, mais tres doctes en l'art de Musique, & perfaits en la composition des airs, que les Grecs appellent Melopee, suivant leurs auertissements & bons auis J'ay corrigé la plus part des fautes que J'auoy peu faire en n'observant les longues & breues de la lettre.

Of Beaulieu little is known; four of his songs are in this collection [14], and he wrote some of the music for the Balet de la Royne [15]. Courvile at this period was the principal musician of Baïf's movement. Fabrice, then, under the influence of Courvile, not only wrote *chansons mesurées*, but also, when setting *vers rimés*, may have followed his "bons auis" and observed the "longues & breues de la lettre". In fact, in his settings of *vers rimés* one finds the same lavish use of coloured notes as in his *musique mesurée*, the same homophonic texture, and also the same careful attention to the "quantity" of syllables. Even the vices as well as the virtues of *musique mesurée* appear in these settings of *vers rimés*. In examples one and two [16]

Ex 1


Qui veut sçauoir A - mour et sa na-tu - re, Son arc ses
feux ses traits et sa poin-tu - re, que c'est qu'il est et que c'est
qu'il de - si - re, Li - se ces vers je m'en vay le de-cri - re etc.

Ex 2



[14] Three of these are also in Le Blanc's Airs, 1579, repr. Expert, *Monuments de la Mus. fr. de la Ren.* No. 3, pp. 8, 54, 57.

[15] v. infra p. 7.

[16] Fabrice, *op. cit.*, Livre I, text of Ronsard and Bertaut.

the natural accentuation is followed closely except at "au", "en" and the two "ses", where the false longs give the effect of a misplaced tonic accent.

These remarks are also true of the homophonic songs in the Balet de la Royne [17]. In some respects these songs resemble normal *musique mesurée* even more closely than Fabrice's do. Fabrice's airs and his *chansons mesurées* [18] are either absolutely "note contre note" throughout [19] or else they contain occasional slight differences of rhythm between parts which prevent a syllable being sung simultaneously [20]; also, he uses such groups as with a syllable under each note. In the homophonic songs of the Balet de la Royne all parts always sing each syllable simultaneously. Each syllable is worth or (or or); no other values are used and rhythmic variety is obtained by splitting into or etc. Indeed, except that they lack a regular poetic metre, these songs are undistinguishable from *musique mesurée*. Unfortunately there is no certain external evidence connecting the Balet with Baif's movement. There are, however a few indications, which combined with the internal evidence just given, justify the supposition that the peculiar style of these songs is due to this influence.

Baif and Le Jeune are known to have helped with some of the festivities for the marriage of the Duc de Joyeuse; the Balet de la Royne was a part of these festivities. Although the verse of the ballet is written by the Sieur de la Chesnaye [21], and the music by Beaulieu and Salmon [22], Baïf and Le Jeune may well have been able to affect the way in which some of the text was set. Baïf hoped to extend his

[17] e. g. the first two choruses ("Chant des Sereines" and "Reponse de la Voute Doree").

[18] With one exception, his setting of "Une puce j'ay dedans l'oreille", which has independent entries to illustrate the words "je cour de ça, je cour de la".

[19] e. g. the first song quoted above.

[20] e. g. "Je ne l'ay dict qu'à moy" (*Op. cit.*, Livre II).

[21] This may possibily be a pseudonym for d'Aubigné, who says (*Œuvres*, ed. Réaume & Caussade, I, 23) that he "dressa le project de la Circé que la Royne mere ne voulut pas executer, pour la depense: & depuis le Roy Henri troisiesme l'executa aux nopces du Duc de Joyeuse"; but Prunières (*Le Balet de Cour*, Paris, 1914, pp. 86–7) is probably right in thinking that this does not necessarily imply that d'Aubigné wrote the verse.

[22] For Beaulieu v. supra p. 144, "Maistre Salmon" was Chantre et Valet du Roi; apart from this little is known of him (v. Prunières, *op. cit.*, p. 88). Gérold (*op. cit.*, p. 4) suggests that Savornin, who played, the part of Jupiter, may be Savorny, one of whose chansons mesurées ("Chanvallon les Roys") appeared in Livre V of the Bataille series. This would be another link with *musique mesurée*.

movement to drama and was particularly interested in the project of a " ballet mesuré " [23]. The verses at the beginning of the printed description of the ballet, although they may merely refer to the classical subject of Circé, seem also to hint at a more precise and literal imitation of antiquity [24]. Finally, one can see from his remarks " au Lecteur " that Beaujoyeux, the creator of the ballet, had humanist ideals:

. . . je me suis advisé qu'il ne seroit point indecent de . . . diversifier la musique de poësie, et entrelacer la poësie de musique, et le plus souvent les confondre toutes deux ensemble: ainsi que l'antiquité ne recitoit ses vers et Orphee ne sonnoit jamais sans vers.

Fabrice and the Balet de la Royne belong to the first period of *musique mesurée*, from the foundation of the Academy, 1570, to the publication of Mauduit's Chansonettes, 1586. The success of *musique mesurée* in these early years was not great enough, and too little had been printed, to encourage many imitators. There are no other signs of ordinary music being affected by it until the early years of the 17th century, when all Le Jeune's and Du Caurroy's *musique mesurée* was published. It is at this time that *airs de cour* begins to appear in great quantity [25]. If we assume that their rhythmical peculiarities are in some measure derived from *musique mesurée*, then it seems likely that those of the first group (where the metre of the text is emphasized in the setting) are the product of intelligent, conscious imitation of *musique mesurée*, and those of the second group (where the irregular rhythm follows no perceptible plan) the product of superficial or unconscious imitation. From a casual hearing of many *chansons mesurées* one might easily gain the impression of completely unplanned, uncontrolled 𝅗𝅥 and ♩ rhythm. A knowledge of the principles of *musique mesurée*, or a quick perception of long, complicated metrical schemes, would reveal a strictly ordered rhythmical plan.

[23] v. My article on the Academy, Vol. I, No. 2 of this periodical.

[24] Anonymous verses adressed to Beaujoyeux, which claim that he has revived the « Balet composé en son tour mesuré . . . " " des cendres de la Grece ", that he has shown " la façon, tant estimee De nos poëtes anciens, Les vers avec la musiquè, Le Balet confus mesuré ".

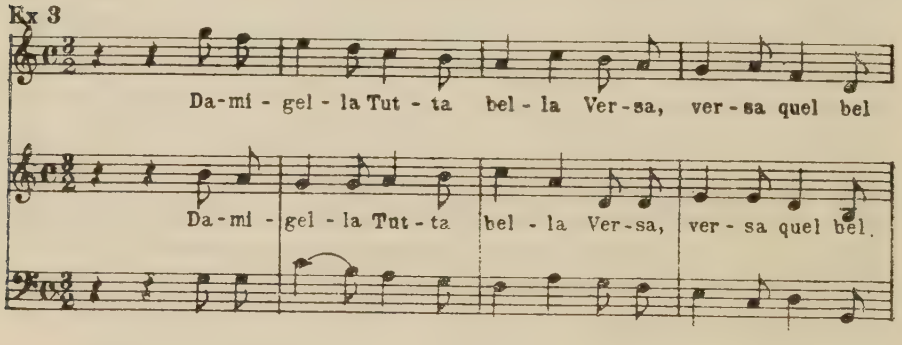
[25] The largest series of these is: *Airs de differents autheurs, mis en tablature de luth par Gabriel Bataille*, Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1608 & 1612; Second Livre, 1609 & 1614; 3ieme, 1614; 4ieme, 1614; 5ieme, 1614; 6ieme, 1614; 7ieme, 1617; 8ieme, 1618. A few of these have been transcribed by Peter Warlock, Oxford Univ. Press, 1926.

An isolated and doubtful example of intelligent imitation has been found by M. Prunières[26] in the Italian music of this period. In the "Dichiaratione di una lettera" at the back of Monteverdi's Scherzi (1607)[27] the composer's brother asks:

... Il canto alla francese in questo moderno modo che le stampe da tre o quattro anni in qua si va mirando, hor sotto a parole de mottetti, hor de madrigali, hor di canzonette & d'arie, chi fu il primo di lui che lo riportasse in Italia di quando venne da li bagni di Spa l'anno 1599[28]? Et chi incomincio a porlo sotto ad orationi latine o a vulgari nella nostra lingua prima di lui? Non fece questi scherzi all'hora?

Prunières' assertion that "il canto alla francese in questo modo" means *musique mesurée*, or a style modelled on it[29], is on the whole born out by the rhythm of several of the Scherzi. But, in his enthusiasm for his discovery, he finds far more certain indications of this influence than actually exist. With a few exceptions in each case, it is true that the airs in question are all homophonic, have only two note values (usually ♩ and ♪) for each syllable, and have a rhythmic scheme which recurs from line to line and from stanza to stanza. Also, the ending ⏑ – – is very frequent, an unusual one in normal music, but extremely common in *musique mesurée*[30] (example 3)[31].

Ex 3



[26] *La Vie E L'Œuvre de Claudio Monteverdi*, Paris, 1926, pp. 20–26, 54–58, and article "Monteverdi and French Music" in *The Sackbut*, Vol. III, 1922, pp. 98 seq.

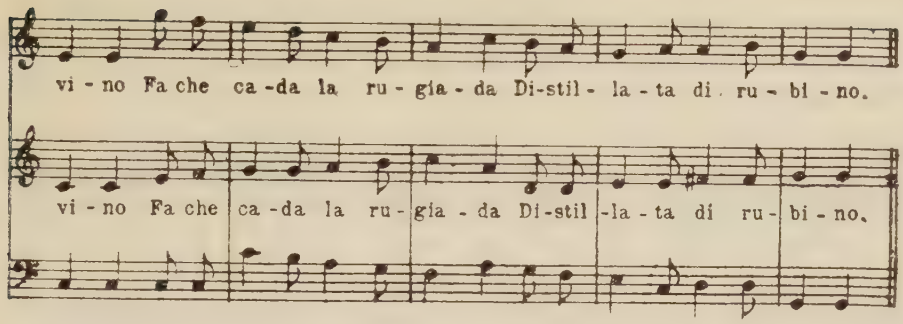
[27] Reprinted in Malipiero's edition of his complete works, Asolo, 1926.

[28] He spent a month in Spa and a month in Brussels. Prunières (*La Vie*, etc., p. 295) tries to prove that he was likely to hear *musique mesurée* in Belgium because works of Le Jeune & du Caurroy appear in collections published in Belgium; but in none of the three he cites is there any *musique mesurée*.

[29] Previously this was supposed to refer to the style of Jannequin or di Lasso.

[30] cf. Prunières, "Monteverdi and French Music", *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[31] *Tutte le opere*, ed. Malipiero, X, 40.



But Prunières also claims that, like *musique mesurée*, many of the Scherzi and some of the airs in the *Orfeo*[32] have no regular beat. In fact most of them have an extremely obvious one; he can only point to several airs which change frequently from $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{6}{8}$[33]. This alternation between two kinds of triple rhythm is foreign to *musique mesurée*, but quite common in other 16th century music[34]. Prunières also believes that the harmony of the Scherzi is like that of *musique mesurée*. He says: "of 15 scherzi 13 are in G major, one in D minor, one in C major"[35]. This is quite true, but it proves the exact opposite of his contention, since all the composers of *musique mesurée* were extremely conservative in their harmony and only wrote in the major when, occasionally, they used the 11th or 12th ecclesiastical modes.

The conscious, intelligent imitation of *musique mesurée* is certainly the most probable cause of the rhythmic structure of our first group of French *airs de cour*. These airs, in addition to their free 𝅗𝅥 and ♩ rhythm, resemble *musique mesurée* in that the metre of their text is musically underlined[36]. The text is ordinary syllabic verse, and its metre is emphasized in this manner. Long notes, usually minims as opposed to crotchets, are put under the last two syllables of every kind of verse; in decasyllabics and alexandrines a long note is also put under the fourth and sixth syllables respectively that is, at the *Coupe*. The last two syllables of a feminine line are often ♩ ♩ instead of 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥, and of a

[32] ed. Malipiero, XI, 43 seq.: « Vi ricordo o boschi ombrosi », « Ecco purche voi ritorno ».

[33] e. g., Scherzo quoted above, and airs cited in note (32).

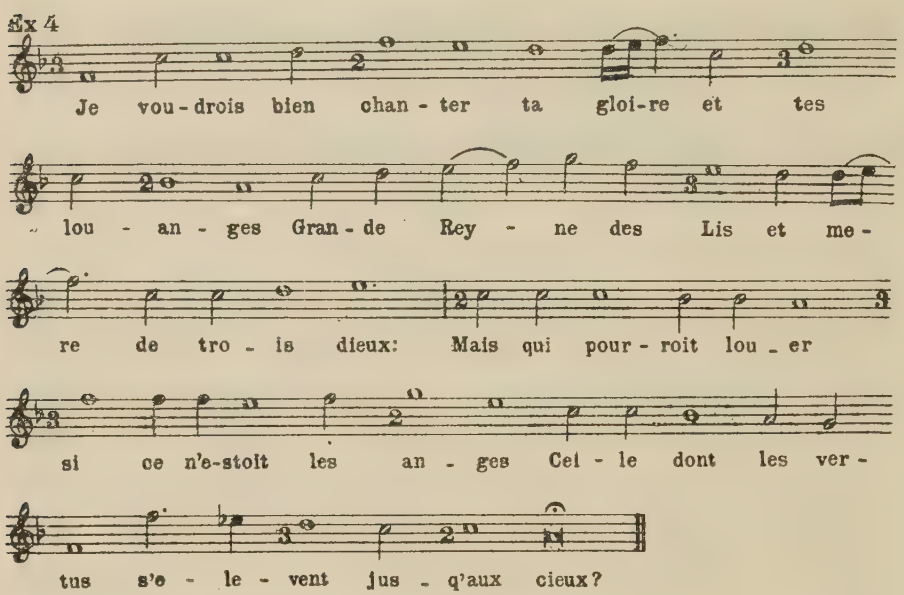
[34] e. g. *Chansons au luth et Airs de Cour français du XVIe siècle*, ed. La Laurencie, Mairy & Thibault, Paris (Publications de la Société française de Musicologie), 1934, pp. 142, 147, 160.

[35] Prunières, "Monteverdi and French Music", *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[36] This was first noticed by Gérold, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 seq.

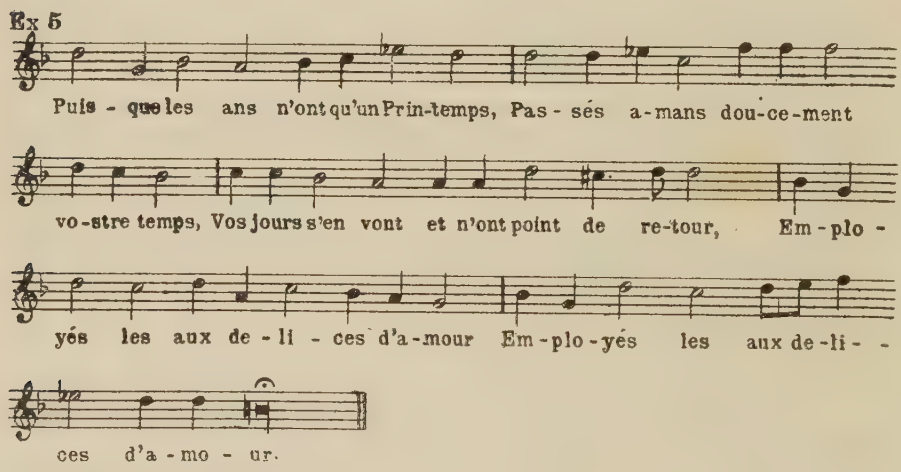
masculine ♩ 𝅗𝅥. Variants which still obey the same principle substitute a minim for any of the crotchets. Number 4 is an example of alexandrines [37],

Ex 4


Je vou-drois bien chan-ter ta gloi-re et tes
lou-an-ges Gran-de Rey-ne des Lis et me-
re de tro-is dieux: Mais qui pour-roit lou-er
si ce n'e-stoit les an-ges Cel-le dont les ver-
tus s'e-le-vent jus-q'aux cieux?

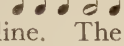
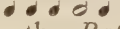
and the air of Guédron (Ex. 5) of decasyllabics [38] (but for the first line).

Ex 5

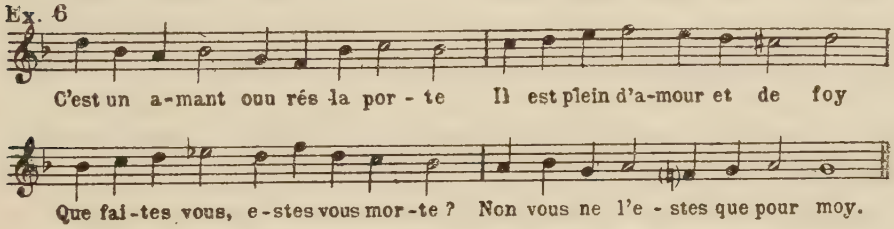

Puis-que les ans n'ont qu'un Prin-temps, Pas-sés a-mans dou-ce-ment
vo-stre temps, Vos jours s'en vont et n'ont point de re-tour, Em-plo-
yés les aux de-li-ces d'a-mour Em-plo-yés les aux de-li-
ces d'a-mo-ur.

[37] "A la Reyne", *Bataille*, Libre IV.

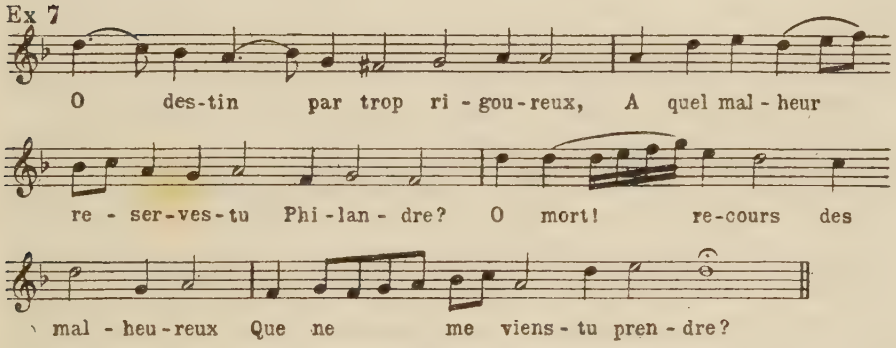
[38] From *Bataille*, Livre VII, taken from the Ballet "La Délivrance de Renaud", 1617 (Vide Prunières, *Le Ballet de Cour*, appendice).

Difficulties arise with octosyllabics; in this metre, by far the most common in the airs de cour, there is no fixed *coupe* or caesura which can be underlined with a minim. The composers of these airs, however, set this type of verse as if there were a *coupe* after the fourth syllable, as in decasyllabics. Thus the ideal scheme of an octosyllabic line is:  for a feminine line, and:  for a masculine. The number of airs in, for example, the *Bataille* series which conforms to these schemes from beginning to end is quite small; but the tendency to do so more or less completely is strong enough to justify the assumption that these composers were in fact trying to model the rhythm of their airs on the metre of their text [39]. The two airs [40] (Exs. 6 and 7) will serve as examples, the first of exact conformation to the above scheme, the second of a typical variant.

Ex. 6



Ex 7

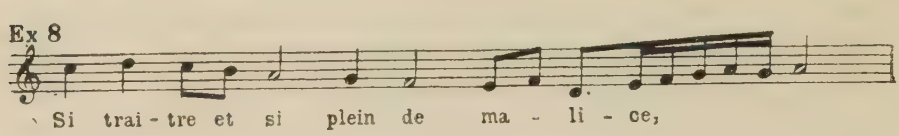

O des-tin par trop ri-gou-reux, A quel mal-heur
re-ser-ves-tu Phi-lan-dre? O mort! re-cours des
mal-heu-reux Que ne me viens-tu pren-dre?

Occasionally they follow the scheme until it involves the first of the three minims falling on an *e* feminine; a minim is then put on the third or fifth syllable instead of the fourth [41]. They do not however

[39] Cf. other examples in Gérold, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 seq.
[40] From *Bataille*, Livres I & II (both octosyllabics).
[41] e. g., *Bataille*, ed. Warlock, p. 25 (note last line).

always shrink from accenting an *e* feminine in this way, and, with this exception, the metrical scheme is allowed to distort the natural rhythm of the text to any extent, as in example 8[42],

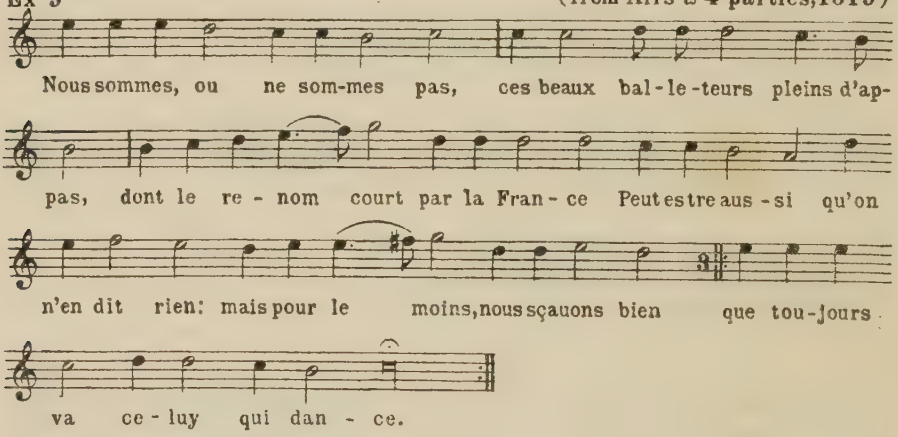
Ex 8



or in the second line of "C'est un amant" quoted above[43]. As in Monteverdi's Scherzi, the frequent ending 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 is a particularly striking resemblance to *musique mesurée*.

Our second group of *airs de cour* are like those just described in their lack of a regular beat and in their tendency to set each syllable with one of two time values, usually 𝅗𝅥 or 𝅘𝅥. But no attempt is made to follow the real or imaginary metre of the text. In one respect only, then, are these airs similar to *musique mesurée*. They have the same "unbarrable" 𝅗𝅥 and 𝅘𝅥 rhythm. But they have no metrical plan and their text is set with a complete disregard for natural verbal rhythm. The notation of these airs is usually like that of *musique mesurée*. No changes from duple to triple time are indicated. There is often no time signature[44], and if, as often in *musique mesurée*, 𝔠 or 𝔆 is put at the

Ex 9 (from Airs à 4 parties, 1619)


Nous sommes, ou ne som-mes pas, ces beaux bal-le-teurs pleins d'ap-
pas, dont le re - nom court par la Fran - ce Peut estre aus - si qu'on
n'en dit rien: mais pour le moins, nous sçauons bien que tou-jours
va ce - luy qui dan - ce.

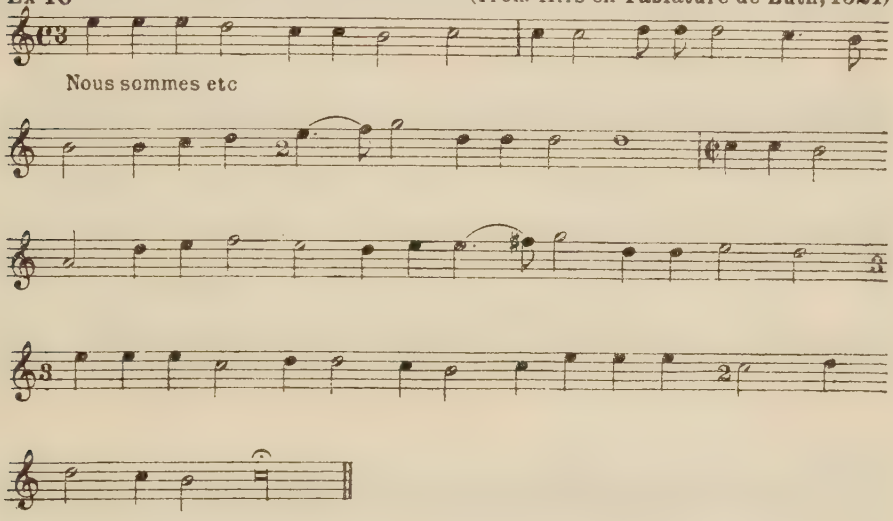
[42] From "Suiuray-je toujours cet enfant", *Bataille*, Livre III.

[43] p. 151.

[44] This is in accordance with Mersenne's statement: ". . . l'on met le nombre 3 . . . lorsqu'on chante en mesure ternaire . . . ou bien l'on n'y met nul signe, afin que la mesure soit libre" (*Harmonie Universelle*, Paris, 1636, V, xi).

beginning, it has no possible meaning. But in later airs the changes of rhythm are shown by a rapidly changing time signature [45]. Many of the airs of Jehan Boyer [46] have two notations: one in the version for four voices and another in the version for voice and lute. The soprano parts (Exs. 9 and 10) from the two versions show how the same irregular rhythm, for which there was no traditional notation, may appear in different disguises.

Ex 10 **(from Airs en Tablature de Luth, 1621)**



Examples of this type of air are not as numerous as appears at first sight. In many airs the rhythmic irregularity is only apparent. They have a regular triple rhythm except at cadences, where they change to duple. These changes can be explained as written-out ritardandos or pauses on the final note. For example, the air "Vostre humeur est par trop volage" [47] has a straightforward triple rhythm [48] up to the refrain, except for the final bar of each line, which is one crotchet too long. The effect when this is sung is certainly that of a recurrent ritardando. The modern notation, for instance, of the second line might be as in example 11 or in example 12 instead of the original (Ex. 13).

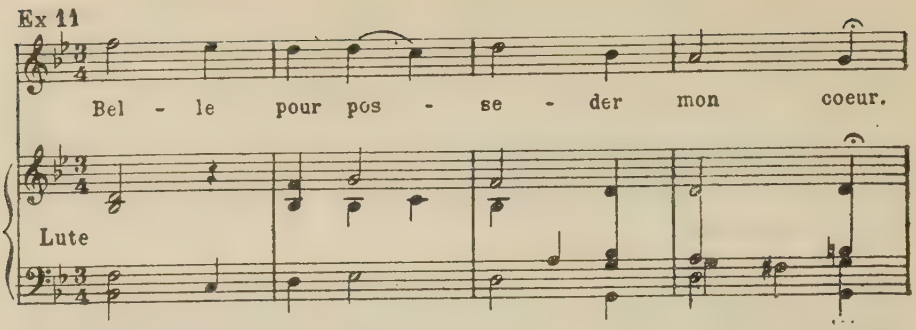
[45] e. g. nearly all those of Boesset, Rigaud and Boyer.

[46] *Airs à 4 parties*, Paris, Ballard, 1619; *Airs de Jean Boyer, Parisien, mis en tablature de luth par luy-mesme*, Paris, Ballard, 1621.

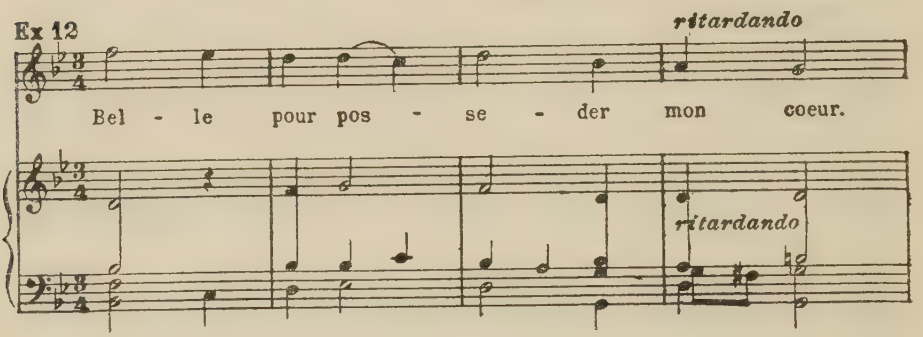
[47] *Bataille*, ed. Warlock, p. 4.

[48] As Warlock indicated by dotted bar-lines.

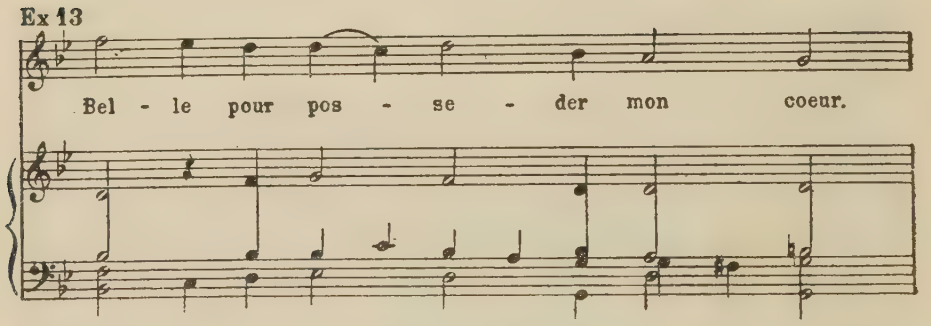
Ex 11



Ex 12



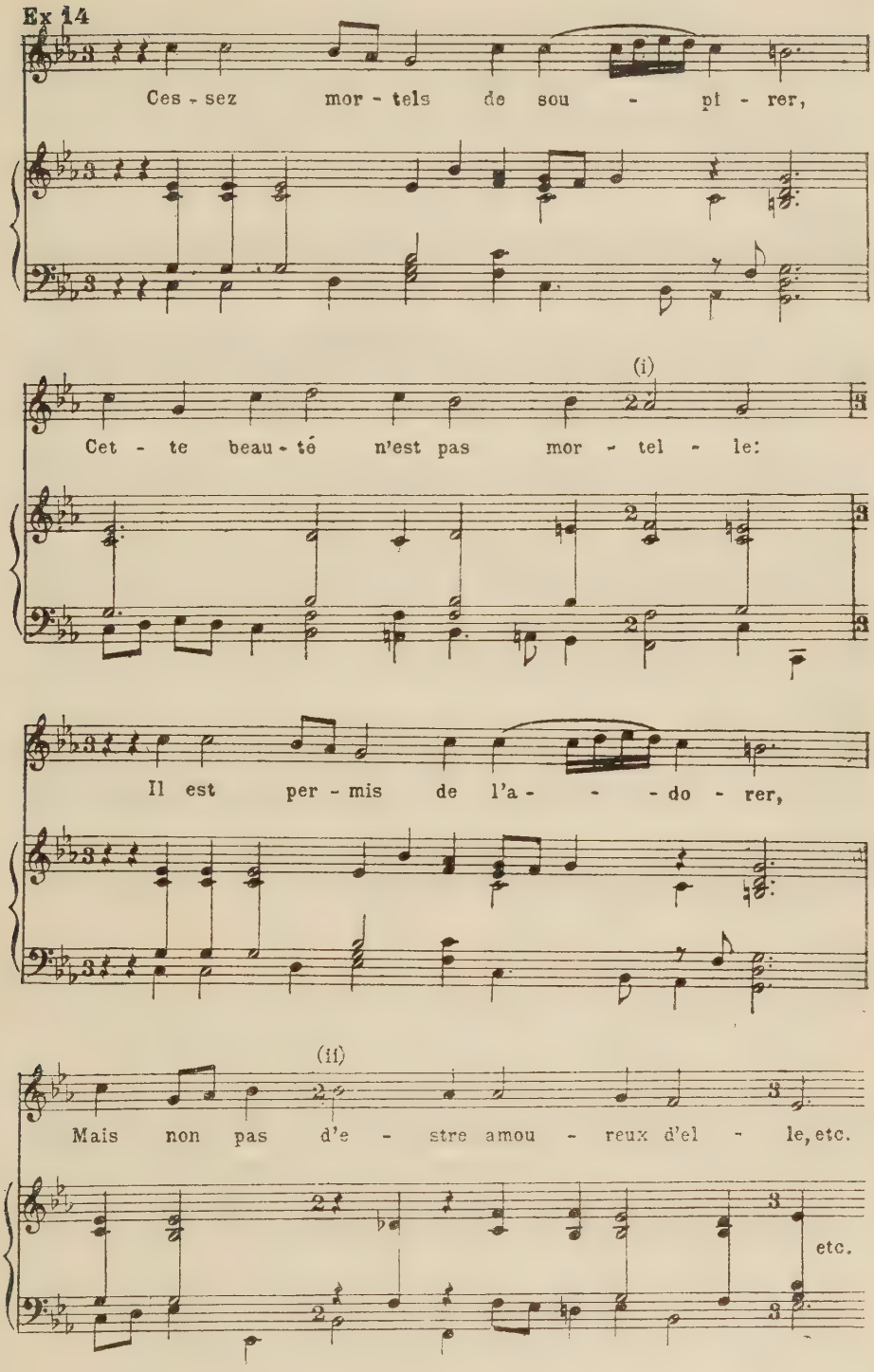
Ex 13



The first three phrases of "Si le parler et le silence" [49] are also in triple time except for the ends of the phrases. Here the transcription 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 for 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 is born out by the third phrase, which is a very slightly altered version of the first, with the same harmony, and which ends 𝅗𝅥 𝅘𝅥 instead of 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥. The same effect of ritardando is given in "Cessez mortels" [50], (Ex. 14) in which the time changes are marked.

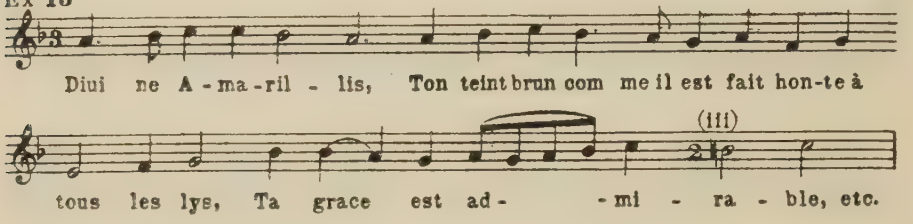
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 34.
[50] *Bataille*, Livre IV.

Ex 14


Ces - sez mor - tels de sou - pi - rer,
(i)
Cet - te beau - té n'est pas mor - tel - le:
Il est per - mis de l'a - - - do - rer,
(ii)
Mais non pas d'e - stre amou - reux d'el - le, etc.
etc.

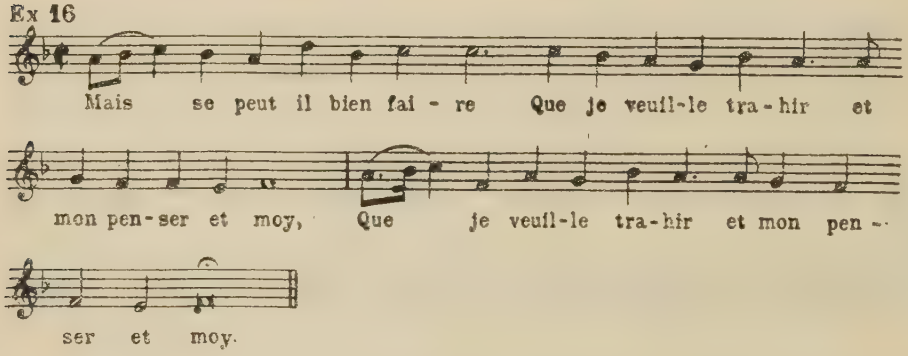
The first of these changes at (i) would be transcribed $\frac{3}{4}$ ♩ 𝅗𝅥. The second is more odd; the rhythm at (ii) is obviously still triple, and the change to 2 is only put in so as to have an unhurried 4–3 suspension on the penultimate note. Similarly Boesset's "Divine Amarillis"[51] (Ex. 15)

Ex 15



is quite regular except at (iii), which in modern notation would probably be $\frac{3}{4}$ ♩♩♩♩♩ | ♩ 𝅗𝅥. That pauses were written out in this way with notes of longer value is proved by the many songs with repeats and second time bars[52]; that ritardandos were sometimes written out is shown by the ending of Fabrice's "Je ne l'ay dict" (Ex. 16)[53].

Ex 16



Sometimes also an apparently irregular air will fit easily into a triple or duple scheme if a rest is inserted at the beginning. For example, Guédron's "Puisque les ans" has no time signature in the

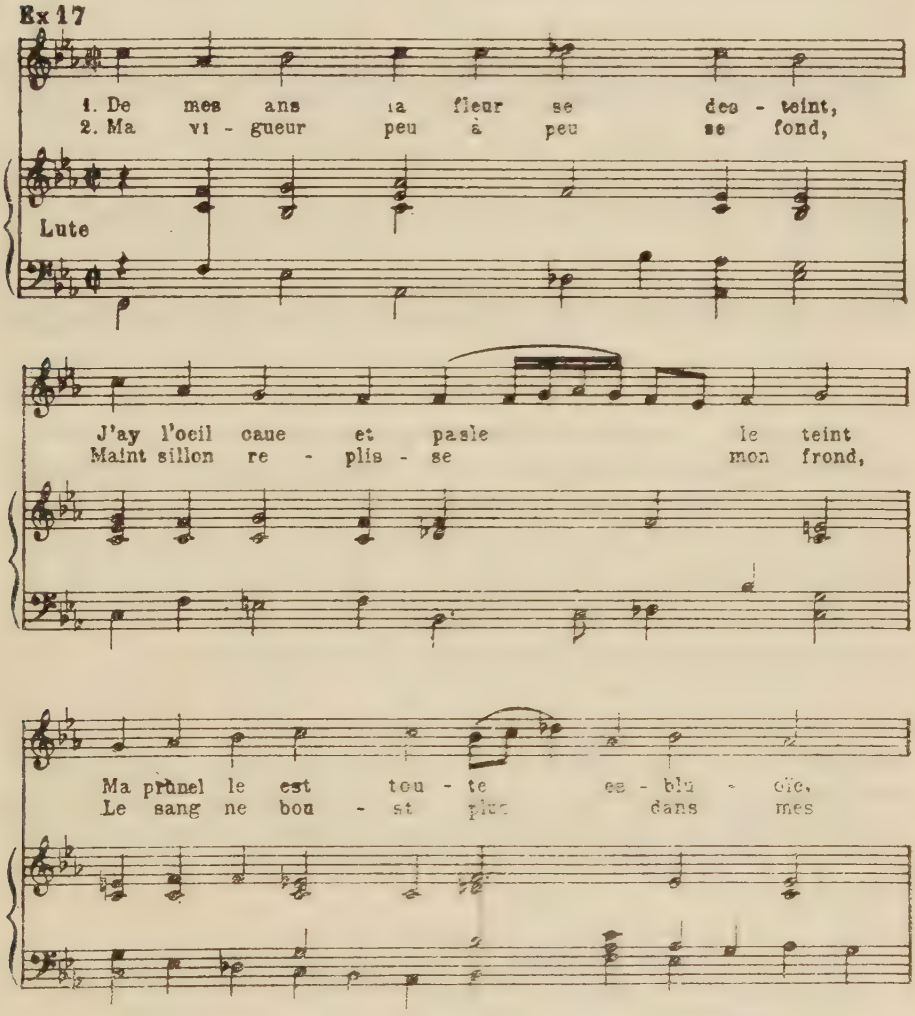
[51] In Mersenne, *Harm. Univ.*, Livre I des Instrumens; he gives both the lute version and the version à 4.

[52] e. g. in the Boesset air just cited the final note in the first time bar is a dotted minim, in the 2nd time bar a long.

[53] Fabrice, *op. cit.*, Livre II.

Bataille version [54] and would make nonsense if it were barred in 𝔈 or 𝔊; but in the polyphonic version [55] it begins with a crotchet rest, has a 𝔈 signature, and fits well into duple time.

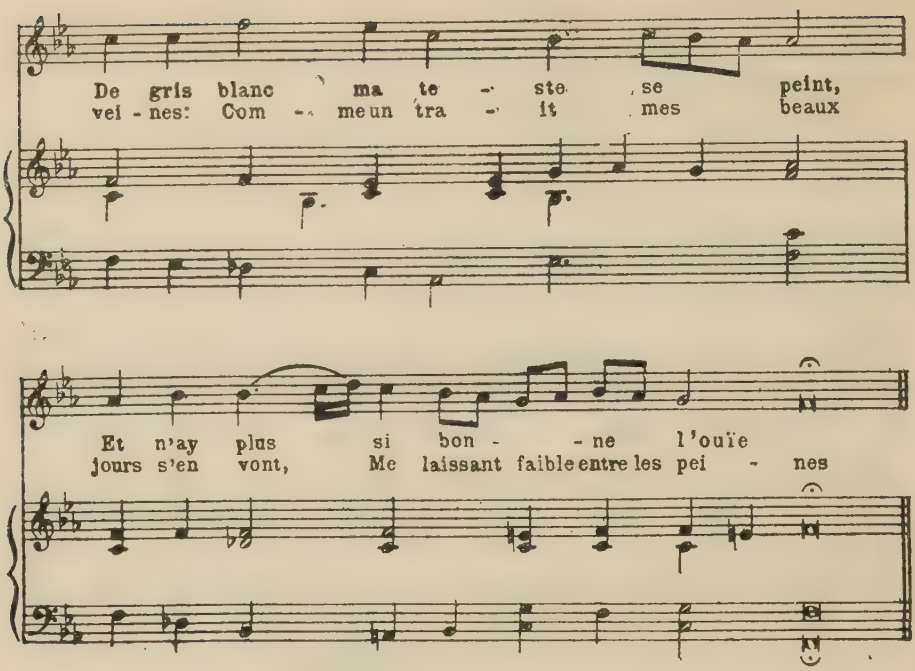
Nevertheless, even when these only apparently irregular airs have been subtracted, there remains a considerable number whose rhythm resembles that of *musique mesurée* except that it is not based on a metrical scheme, as in the charming setting (Ex. 17) of a poem by Desportes [56].

Ex 17

1. De mes ans la fleur se deo - teint,
2. Ma vi - gueur peu à peu se fond,
Lute
J'ay l'oeil caue et pasle le teint
Maint sillon re - plis - se mon frond,
Ma prunel le est teu - te ea - blu - oie,
Le sang ne bou - st plus dans mes

[54] Quoted above p. 154.

[55] Reprinted in Appendix of Prunières, *Ballet de Cour*.

[56] *Bataille*, Livre VI. Cf. *Bataille*, ed. Warlock, pp. 13, 18.


De gris blanc ma te - ste se peint,
vei - nes: Com - me un tra - it mes beaux
Et n'ay plus si bon - - ne l'ouïe
jours s'en vont, Me laissant faible entre les pei - nes

All musical measure or beat is lacking and there is apparently no rhythmic principle to take its place; as Rolland says, there was at this time " une veritable ivresse de rythmes libres "[57]. This freedom is not even controlled by the natural verbal rhythm of the text, which is distorted to a remarkable degree note, for instance, in the air just quoted, the stress on " se " in the first line and on " est " in the third[58]. As an English contemporary, Ed. Filmer Gent., remarked[59],

" the *French* when they compose to a ditty in their owne Language being led rather by their free Fant'sie of Aire (wherein many of them do naturally excell) then by any strict and artificiall scanning of the Line, by which they build, doe often, by disproportion'd Musicall Quantities, inuert the naturell Stroke of a Verse, applying to the place of an *Iambicke* Foot, such modulation as Iumps rather with a Trochay ".

57 Rolland, " L'Opéra au XVIIe siècle ", in *Encyclopédie*, ed. Lavignac & La Laurencie, Pt. I, T. III, Paris, 1921, p. 1344.

58 cf. *Bataille*, ed. Warlock, pp. 13, 18.

59 *French Court Aires, with their Ditties Englished, Of fourre and five Parts. Together with that of the Lute. Collected, Translated, Published by Ed. Filmer Gent*, London, 1629, Preface.

Filmer explains this distortion of the text by the "lack of metrical feet", that is, syllabic versification, and by the weak, rare tonic accent in French [60]. These do very adequately account for the considerable distortion of verbal rhythm in most French settings of all kinds, and of all periods up to the 19th century. But in French popular song the distortion arises naturally because a weak verbal accent, unsupported by metre, is dominated by a strong and regular musical rhythm. And in all polyphony there is an inherent tendency to do violence to the text, both because of its inaudibility and because of the rhythmic variety necessary in different voices. This tendency is strengthened by the weak nature of French accentuation. In these *airs de cour*, on the other hand, the composer had no reason or excuse for "applying to the place of an *Iambicke* Foot, such modulation as Iumps rather with a Trochay", since he had abandoned any regular musical or metrical beat; whereas, in our first group of airs, the equally bad treatment of text can be partially explained by the practice of emphasizing the fourth syllable in octosyllabics [61]. Filmer was not the only contemporary to notice this characteristic of the *airs de cour*. Mersenne remarks on it, but without disapproval or explanation [62].

We have supposed that the peculiarities of rhythm in these *airs de cour* were due to the influence of *musique mesurée*. Astriking quality of *musique mesurée* is its inevitably good treatment of text. Such distortions as an accented *e* feminine never occur. Like all humanistic musical movements one of its chief aims was to ensure that in every way the text should dominate or condition the setting [63]. It is therefore necessary to give some adequate explanation of the bad treatment of text in these *airs de cour*. It is interesting to note in this connection that a striking exception to these generalizations is Pierre Guédron, who in nearly all his songs shows great respect for the verbal rhythm of his text [64]. This may well be due to the direct influence of *musique mesurée*. Guédron wrote both the music and the words for the Balet du Roy, of which Mauduit, one of the chief musicians of *musique mesurée*,

[60] Filmer, immediately after passage quoted: "And this without much violence to their *Poems*, since the disorder and confusion of *metricall* Feet in their Verse is as Inoffensive as Indiscernable, by reason. . . of the Euen Pronunciation of their Tongue".

[61] cf. supra.

[62] *Harm. Univ.*, II, xxiii.

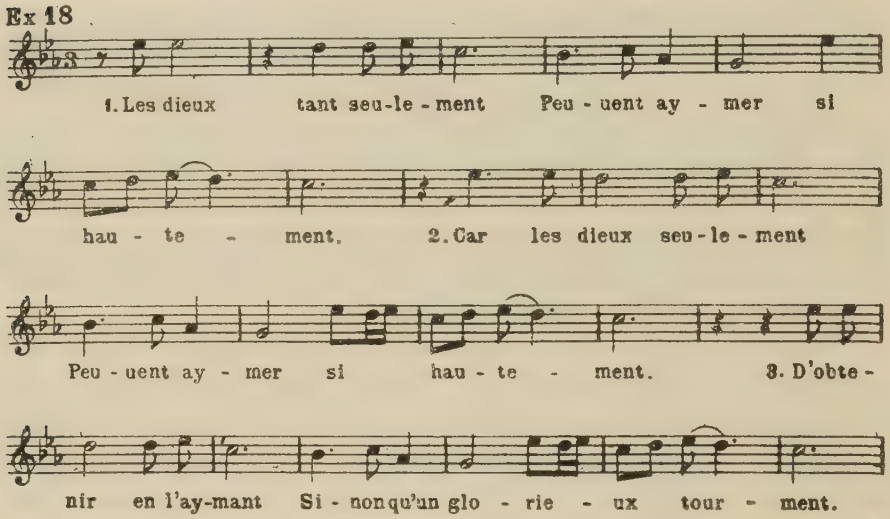
[63] cf. Walker, "Musical Humanism", I, 6, & passim.

[64] See e. g. air quoted supra p. 150.

was the *chef d'orchestre*[65]. Moreover he set to music some *vers mesurés* of Rapin[66], and was the successor of Le Jeune as *Compositeur de musique de la chambre du Roi*[67]. Guédron, however, is only an isolated, though important, exception; we have still to find an explanation of the distortion of verbal rhythm in the great majority of *airs de cour*.

This explanation can perhaps be found in the use of couplets. In an English or German poem the tonic accents tend to fall in the same places in all verses; in verse written to be sung they invariably do. The use of couplets, therefore, though perhaps aesthetically unsound,

Ex 18


1. Les dieux tant seu-le-ment Peu-uent ay-mer si
hau-te-ment. 2. Car les dieux seu-le-ment
Peu-uent ay-mer si hau-te-ment. 3. D'obte-
nir en l'ay-mant Si-non qu'un glo-rie-ux tour-ment.

does not necessarily result in misplaced accents. If changes in the music are necessary to fit different verses, they need only be slight ones, often only such as a good singer would make spontaneously; they do not seriously alter the musical rhythm. In French, owing to syllabic versification, couplets almost invariably result in misplaced accents. If the tune were altered for each couplet the changes would often completely transform the musical rhythm, and therefore could not reasonably be left to the singer's discretion. Yet in this period there is only one isolated case of an air in which different versions of a tune are given for

[65] v. Michel Brenet, *Musique et Musiciens de la Vieille France*, Paris, 1911, p. 230.

[66] " Lorsque Leandre " in Guédron's *Airs de Cour à 4 et 5 parties*, Paris, 1608 (also in *Bataille*, Livre I)

[67] v. M. Cauchie, Note on Le Jeune, in *Revue de Musicologie*, 1927, p. 162.

different couplets: an anonymous song in the *Bataille* series. In this it is only for the last two lines of each stanza that the tune is varied (Ex. 18)[68].

There are also the remarks of Mersenne[69], in quoting the settings of two odes of Horace by Nicolas du Chemin, of which he gives only the first verses:

Il n'y a point d'autres differences dans les couplets qui suiuent le premier, sinon qu'en tous les seconds vers la premiere syllabe est longue, & partant doit estre d'une demie mesure; mais parceque la syllabe fa de fauete du premier couplet est briefve, il y a un soupir deu ant pour faire paroistre ladite briefve, en gardant neantmoins le mesme temps[70].

And on the second ode:

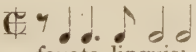
Quant aux autres couplets de cet Ode, ils se peuvent chanter sur ce mesme chant, pourveu que l'on allonge les syllabes de l'un qui se trouent briefves dans l'autre.

These two passages from Mersenne and the song from *Bataille* are the only evidence of any attempt to reform this abuse. Hence, as M. Prunières remarks[71], it is not surprising that composers made little attempt to follow the rhythm of a first verse when in any case the subsequent verses were bound to be violently distorted.

It is true that couplets were in use long before these lutesongs appeared; but they are much less frequent in the earlier polyphonic songs of di Lasso, Costeley or Le Jeune. Short texts, often of a popular and frivolous kind, were chosen, or a whole long poem was set without making use of the couplet system[72]. Whereas in the *airs de cour* couplets were always used; M. de la Laurencie concludes[73] that " l'allure simple et la constitution strophique " are the only characteristics common to all *airs de cour*. Moreover most of the *airs de cour* have, as it were, couplets within couplets. A verse of four lines is often set with only two phrases, either *aabb* or *abab*. This ancient musical form naturally intensifies the effect of couplets, since its use makes nearly impossible any attempt to set even a first stanza justly. It is of course possible that good singers, when a first verse was set justly, altered the melody

[68] The beginning of this air, " Cessez mortels ", is quoted above, p. 159.

[69] *Harm. Univ.*, VI, xxiii & xxix.

[70] Thus: (first verse)  fauete linguis; (2nd verse) arbusta sulcis.

[71] Prunières, *Le Ballet de Cour*, pp. 232 seq.

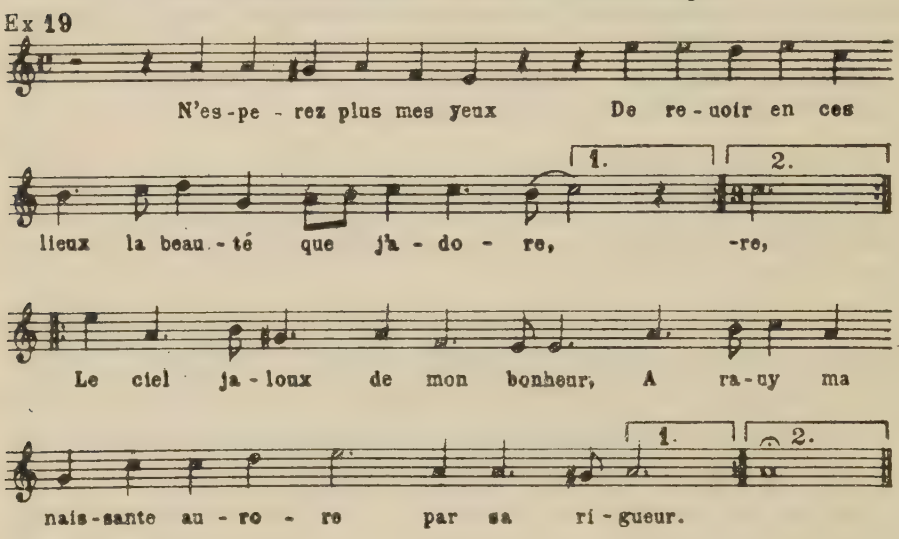
[72] e. g., Le Jeune, « Le Printemps, " ed. Expert, I, 1.

[73] Introduction to *Chansons au Luth* (v. supra note 34), p. xxvii.

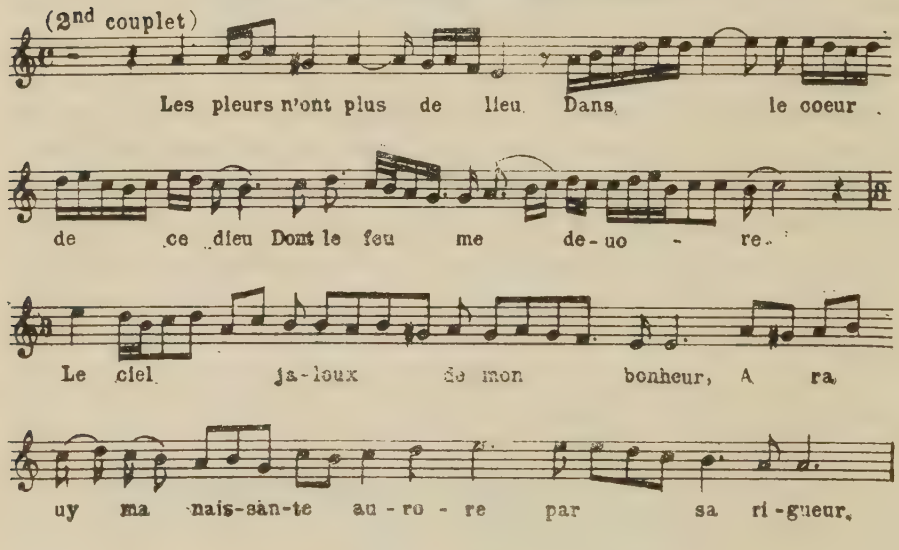
to fit subsequent ones. But, apart from the isolated example in *Bataille* there is no evidence that melodic alterations from couplet to couplet were ever anything more than " diminutions ", which, judging from this example given by Mersenne [74], made matters still worse (Ex. 19).

Ex 19

Air de Monsieur Boesset. Chant simple

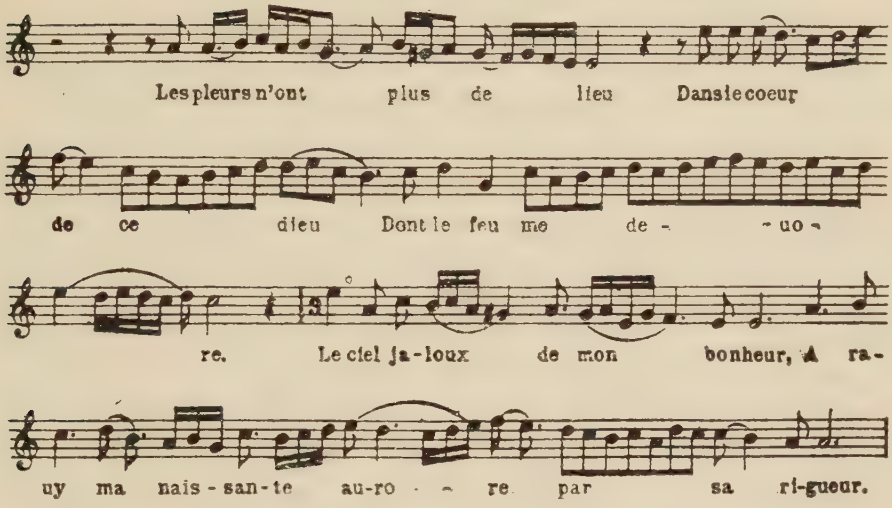

N'es-pe-rez plus mes yeux De re-uoir en ces
1. 2.
lieux la beau-té que j'a-do-re, -re,
Le ciel ja-loux de mon bonheur, A ra-uy ma
1. 2.
nais-sante au-ro-re par sa ri-gueur.

Diminution de Monsieur le Bailly


(2nd couplet)
Les pleurs n'ont plus de lieu Dans le coeur
de ce dieu Dont le feu me de-uo-re.
Le ciel ja-loux de mon bonheur, A ra
uy ma nais-san-te au-ro-re par sa ri-gueur.

[74] *Harm. Univ.*, VI, xxiii. 21

Autre diminution de Monsieur Boesset


Les pleurs n'ont plus de lieu Dans le coeur
de ce dieu Dont le feu me de - uo -
re. Le ciel ja-loux de mon bonheur, A ra-
uy ma nais-san-te au-ro - re par sa ri-gueur.

We have now examined the three main characteristics of *musique mesurée* which may have influenced contemporary music, its texture, rhythm and treatment of text; and we have seen signs of an influence exercized by the latter two in many *airs de cour* of the early 17th century. It must again be emphasized that these signs are by no means a certain indication of this influence and may well be due to quite other causes. Moreover, until the problems of interpretation raised by the notation of *musique mesurée* and the *airs de cour* are fully solved, that is, until we know more exactly what their rhythm was when performed, all discussions on the subject of this article must run the risk of being founded on wrongly interpreted documents.

TWO MENSURATION CANONS

MANFRED F. BUKOFZER

In the preface to the first selection from the Trent Codices (*DTÖ*, v. 14–15 [Jg.VII], p. XXVIII) Adler and Koller make reference to a piece with French words which is supplied with a Latin description or " canon ", as it was called at the time. Only a single voice, with the text " *Eslongies suy* " (Trent 23) is recorded from which the other voice must be derived according to the following " explanation ": " Qui cupit accipiat cantus cantare tenorem istius minimas cantet simul et semibreves sub dyapason, sed in dyatessaron sint tibi breves ". The editors of the *Denkmäler* interpret this to mean that the minims and semibreves, taken out of the written part and transposed to the lower octave, form the lower voice while the breves, transposed to the fourth, form the upper voice. Adler and Koller do not publish the music but assert that the solution results in " eine keineswegs erquickliche Musik ". This, indeed, is an understatement because their solution makes no musical sense whatsoever. They have become here the victims of the ambiguity, sometimes deliberately sought by the composer, of the explanatory description.

Closer examination reveals that the terms " dyapason " and " dyatessaron " stand here not for musical intervals but for ratios of augmentation and diminution, as they frequently do in similar cases. The *cantus* part must be transcribed as it stands in the Trent Codices and the tenor observes the same melody with certain modifications. In this particular case all minims and semibreves must be doubled (ratio 2 : 1 = diapason) so that all quarter notes of the transcription become half notes and all eighth notes quarter notes. Were this procedure applied also to the breves, all half notes of the original would become whole notes. However, the canon stipulates that the breves should be " in dyatessaron " which means that what would ordinarily become the whole note should be reduced by four to a quarter note. We have here a strict mensuration canon in which the tenor starts simultaneously with the upper voice

at the lower octave but with all notes doubled in value, except for the half notes which are halved. The transcription below (Ex. 1) shows that the resulting setting is in keeping with the laws of 15th-century music. Aside from a few unorthodox suspensions it is a skilful composition, if allowance is made for its inherent complication. The smooth cadences especially prove the correctness of the solution. It should also be noted that the words of the canon bear on the music as they frequently do in this type of composition, e. g., Machaut's *Ma fin est mon commencement.* In our case the idea of remoteness from the beloved (*Eslongies suy*) is musically expressed in that the tenor, although singing the same melody as the upper voice, is forced to keep its distance because of the aug mentation.

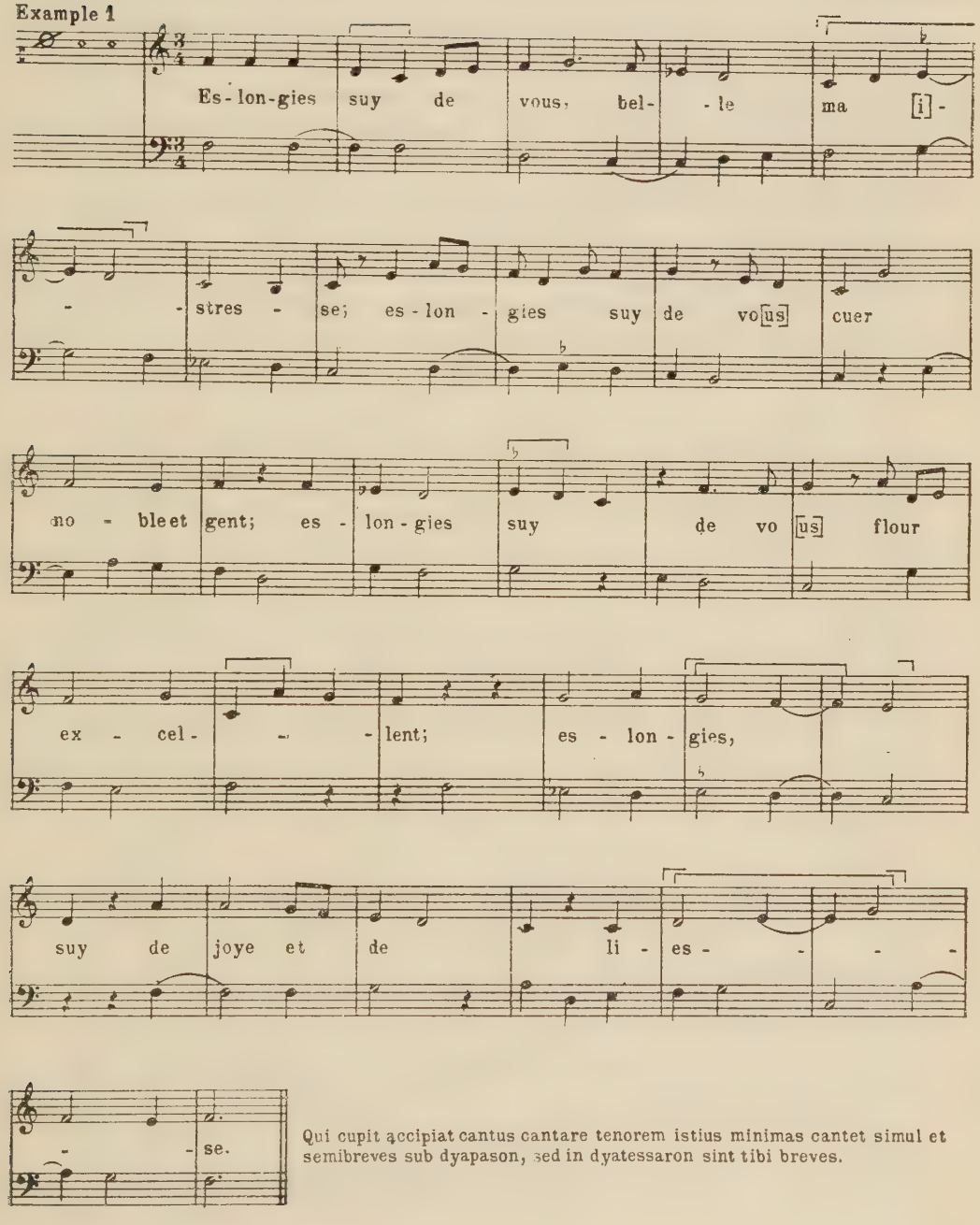
This mensuration canon came to my mind when I went through the canon *Le ray au soleil* published by Prof. Ghisi under the name of Ciconia as a supplement to his study on *Italian Ars-Nova Music* (Vol. I, 173 of this periodical). A cursory examination of the piece makes it clear that the version as it is transcribed cannot possibly represent the intention of the composer because of the dissonant cadences, especially the final one, and the lack of a rational relationship between the voices. The author explains the anomalies as bold appoggiature and harsh effects of a " modern and significant example of contrapuntal technique ", but the bold progressions that we do find in the music of the period look quite differently. In fact, the transcription at which Prof. Ghisi, to use his own words, " fortunately succeeded to arrive " is inconsistent with the style of the period, with the Latin prescription, and even with his own, comments (p. 188). According to his explanation the canon starts after the fourth eighth note while it begins in his transcription after the third. Moreover, he augments notes of the same value (the two white semibreves) once six times and once four and half times without any justification for treating them differently. Likewise there is no indication that rests are intended at the beginning.

Through the kindness of Dr. Carapetyan I was able to examine a photograph of the original. First of all it should be noted that the piece is anonymous. The fact that the upper part of the folio contains a composition by Ciconia does not entitle us to ascribe the canon to him also. We have here again an example of men-

Trent 23

Anonymous

Example 1


Es-lon-gies suy de vous, bel- le ma [i]-
- stres - se; es-lon - gies suy de vo[us] cuer
no - bleet gent; es - lon-gies suy de vo [us] flour
ex - cel - - - lent; es - lon - gies,
suy de joye et de li - es - - - -
- se.

Qui cupit accipiat cantus cantare tenorem istius minimas cantet simul et semibreves sub dyapason, sed in dyatessaron sint tibi breves.

suration canon in which the parts begin simultaneously. The "explanatory" words in Latin are very obscure. In such cases it is best to begin with a musical analysis of the given part. It is unmistakable that in spite of the rhythm of major prolation the melody falls into groups of four eighth notes which form harmonic units. Taking the cue from the implied harmony I have augmented each note of the tenor by four so that a highly intricate rhythmic pattern results. The Latin canon, too, suggests a relation of 3 : 4, and it will be noticed that four prolations of the upper voice correspond to three notes in the lower. The augmentation applies uniformly to all notes. The sentence "sed facit alba moras" means that the white notes should become rests in the tenor. The transcription I propose here eliminates the dissonant cadences and has the advantage, aside from the consistent handling of the canon, of fewer discordances on the strong beat.

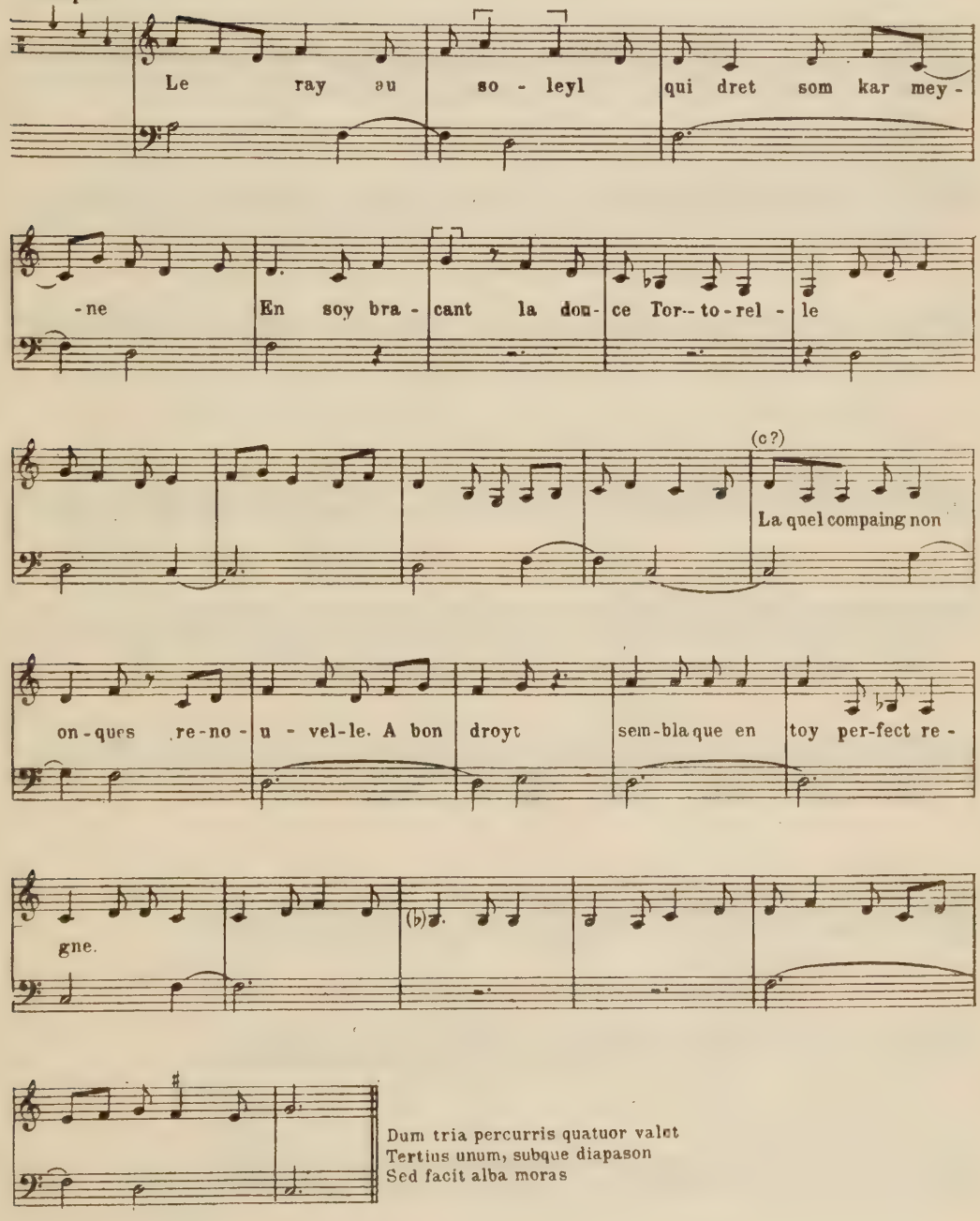
The rest in measure 16 is a minim in the original. Prof. Ghisi has transcribed it as a semibreve and I have retained his emendation. The second *f* in measure 15 has been changed by erasure from a minim to a semibreve, but the original value seems correct. Otherwise my transcription of the upper voice agrees wit that of Prof. Ghisi except for measures 17 and 18 in which I have corrected wrong alterations of the minims. Measures 12-13 still contain some awkward clashes. In view of the rests it seems likely that a third part is missing. The remark "tertius unum" may possibly hint at a third canonic voice, but if it does I do not know how it should come in. On the whole the canon is not as convincing as the first one.

I take this opportunity to correct a few errors in Prof. Ghisi's transcriptions. On p. 16 of the musical supplement measure 31 of the upper voice should begin with two quarter-note rests (not three), as the facsimile indicates, and the following notes must be moved so that the red notes of measure 32 exactly coincide in both voices. The continuation contains a further inaccuracy in measure 35, but this is a negligible point because the part is fragmentary anyway. A more serious error must be corrected on p. 7, measures 39–41 and 44–47. Here the transcriber made a wrong emendation in the contratenor, overlooked a breve in the tenor, and furthermore confused the sign .i. (*senaria imperfecta*) with a rest. Through this mistake the nice imitation between tenor and contratenor, indicated

Perugia fragment, fol. 72.

• Anonymous

Example 2

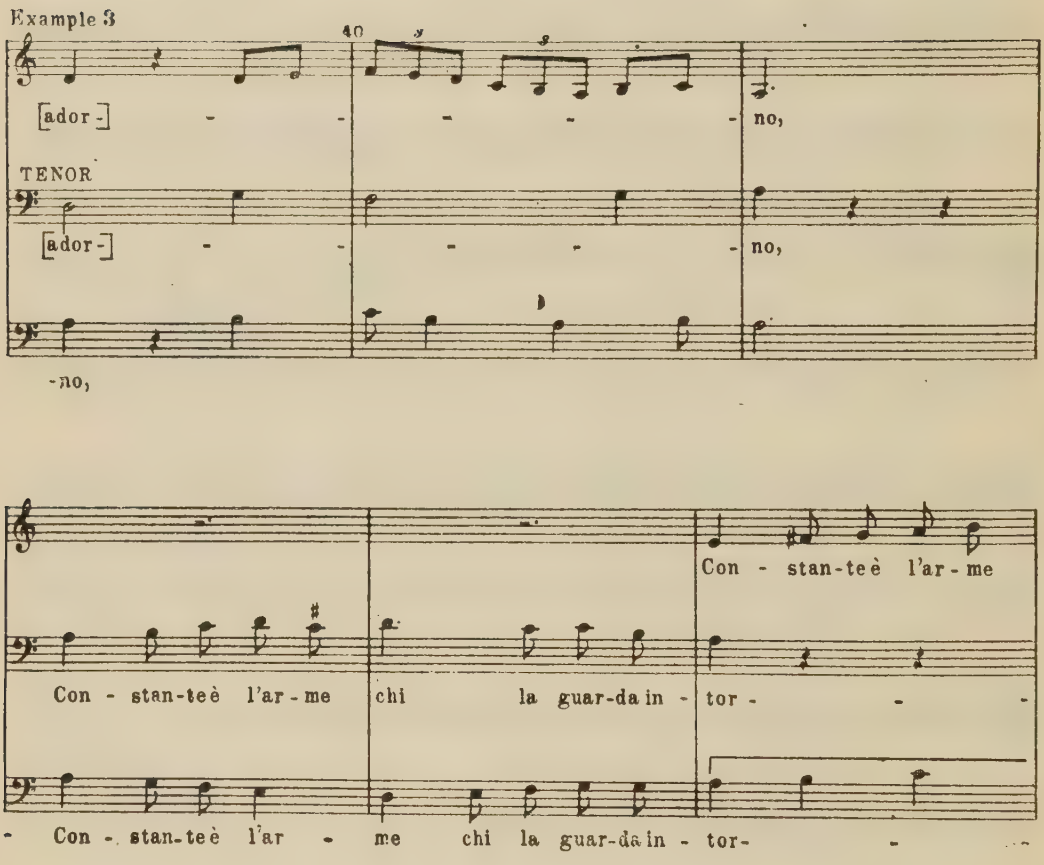

Le ray au so - leyl qui dret som kar mey -
-ne En soy bra - cant la dou- ce Tor-- to - rel - le
(c?)
La quel compaing non
on - ques re - no - u - vel - le. A bon droyt sem - blaque en toy per - fect re -
gne.
(♭)

Dum tria percurris quatuor valet
Tertius unum, subque diapason
Sed facit alba moras

Madrigal: Una panthera

Ciconia

Example 3


40
[ador-] - - - - - no,
TENOR
[ador-] - - - - - no,
-no,
Con - stan-te è l'ar - me
Con - stan-te è l'ar - me chi la guar-da in - tor - - -
- Con - stan-te è l'ar - me chi la guar-da in - tor- -
chi la guar-da in - tor - - - - -[no]
-[no]
-[no]

by a bracket below, has been spoiled. The whole passage must read, as a similar section in measure 29–31 confirms, like Ex. 3.

I have drawn attention to these mistakes because Prof. Ghisi's article is too valuable to be left with these blemishes. There are some inaccuracies and obscurities in the text which may be due in part to the fact that the author was not entirely familiar with the English language. For example, the remark about " some passages in canon form with alternating rests " (p. 187) concerns a single voice, moreover a composition that is not a canon; it is probably supposed to refer to snatches of imitation (?). It may be pointed out that the term *isoritmia* (p. 190) is used by the author not in its commonly accepted sense of isorhythmy, but to denote chordal style (similar rhythm in all voices) which would better be called differently.

In conclusion the reader may like to be informed that Prof. Ghisi's article in *La Rinascita* (1942) to which he frequently refers and of which his present study is only an extension has appeared also in a parallel German version in *Archiv für Musikforschung* VII (1942), 17. For reasons unknown to me this article is passed over in silence although it has the advantage of being much more readily accessible than the Italian one.

The University of California
Berkeley, California

A SECOND SIENESE FRAGMENT OF ITALIAN ARS NOVA

FEDERICO GHISI

Once again parchments used as covers for notarial acts or other documents, preserved in state archives, have yielded new material for investigation into the musical history of the Italian Renaissance.

Besides the signal discovery of the Lucca codex and its fragments at Perugia – the latter published by the writer (see note 3) – another leaf of parchment recently discovered at the state archives of Siena deserves to be noted.

We owe the discovery to the kind interest of Prof. Giovanni Cecchini, in charge of the Sienese state archives, who having been acquainted with the writer's work in the field of Ars Nova, brought the fragment to his attention. It was a pleasing surprise, therefore, to learn a few months ago of the rediscovery, even though of only one leaf, from among many other parchments that are frequently sorted out in the course of usual work in rearrangement of archives, and many of which carry square notation or neumes. There is no doubt that if our state archives had the adequate means for a systematic and ordered search by qualified men, the result would probably be a rich harvest of new and important sources for the history of the Italian music of the thirteenth to fifteenth century.

Our fragment is not in a very good state of preservation. Carelessness in course of time and exposure to light have caused the writing of the outer sides of the cover to deteriorate. The notes have suffered specially, and one reads them with difficulty, only from the outlines, as they have become hollow by the loss of the inking (fol. 2'). But the inside two pages are better preserved both as to text and notes which are still clear and are adorned by a beautiful initial letter illuminated by a miniature in gold, red and blue. This leads one to think that the leaf was taken from some precious musical codex which was perhaps destroyed or has gone astray.

At first examination any possibility of identity between this and the other Sienese fragment (discussed in Vol. I No. 3 of this periodical) as to parent codex would seem to be precluded. There is a disparity in type and quality of parchment. The writing seems

not to be by the same hand. Both fragments, however, contain, as will presently be seen, secular as well as liturgical music.

The fragment consists of two folios measuring 290 × 210 mm. The upper margin has been cut, thus probably cutting out also the name of the composer and leaving the compositions anonymous. The musical writing is typical of the first half of the fifteenth century, with black and red notes, filled and empty, the colors of which, as already mentioned, remain only in the inside pages (fols. 1'–2). The text seems to be by the same hand and with humanistic characteristics. The polyphonic compositions consist of a liturgical passage (part of a mass), and two ballate, of whose text additional stanzas to be sung to the same music are written on the free space of the page.

The compositions are placed as follows:

Fol. 1 – « Yvi neglecta rosa pur per l'altrui maldire »
Two voices (C. T.). A Ballata.

Fols, 1'–2– " Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis, benedicamus te, laudamus te, gratia agimus tibi ". Two voices (C. T.). Gloria.

Fol. 2' – " Amen ". The rest of the Gloria (on upper part of the page).
" Adio, adio, amore mio sostegno ". Two voices (C. T.). A Ballata.

In view of the small number of examples of secular Italian composition of the first half of the fifteenth century, the two compositions here are of great interest towards further acquaintance with the Italian popular polyphony at the periphery of the late Ars Nova. Therefore the appearance of two new love ballate, which to the writer's knowledge do not exist in any other collection of the time, should be significant to the present–day scholar.

Here are the texts [1]:

Yvi neglecta rosa
Pur per l'altrui mal dire

Adio, adio, amore mio sostegno [2]
L'alma te lasso

[1] I take this occasion again to thank Prof. Giovanni Cecchini for his valuable contribution, paleographically, in the not easy task of reading the texts.

[2] Cf. some French texts with the incipits " Adyeu, adyeu ma dous amye " (Ms. 2216, Bibl. Bologna); " Adieu ma dame " (Ms. 213, Oxford); " Adiu, adiu, dous dame joly " of Landini (Pal. 87, Squarcialupi, Florence) and others.

Per darmi più martire
Ti sey da me nascosa
Di lagrime più bangno
Che mille volte al giorno
Più pianger non mi stangno
Per lo tuo viso adorno.

Oymé, che, pur vo atorno
Et zà più non ti vegio
Tu non possa aver pegio
Ol ver gratiosa . . .
Or non ci fosse tolto
Al nostro bel guardare
Per nostro amore stolto
Fato era ven privare

Non possiam navigare
Che tolto c'è el timone
De'moia quel larone
Di spada velenosa
Non potrà mai vivare
Già più che con agrezza
Et non potrei scrivare
Qua te lan . . .

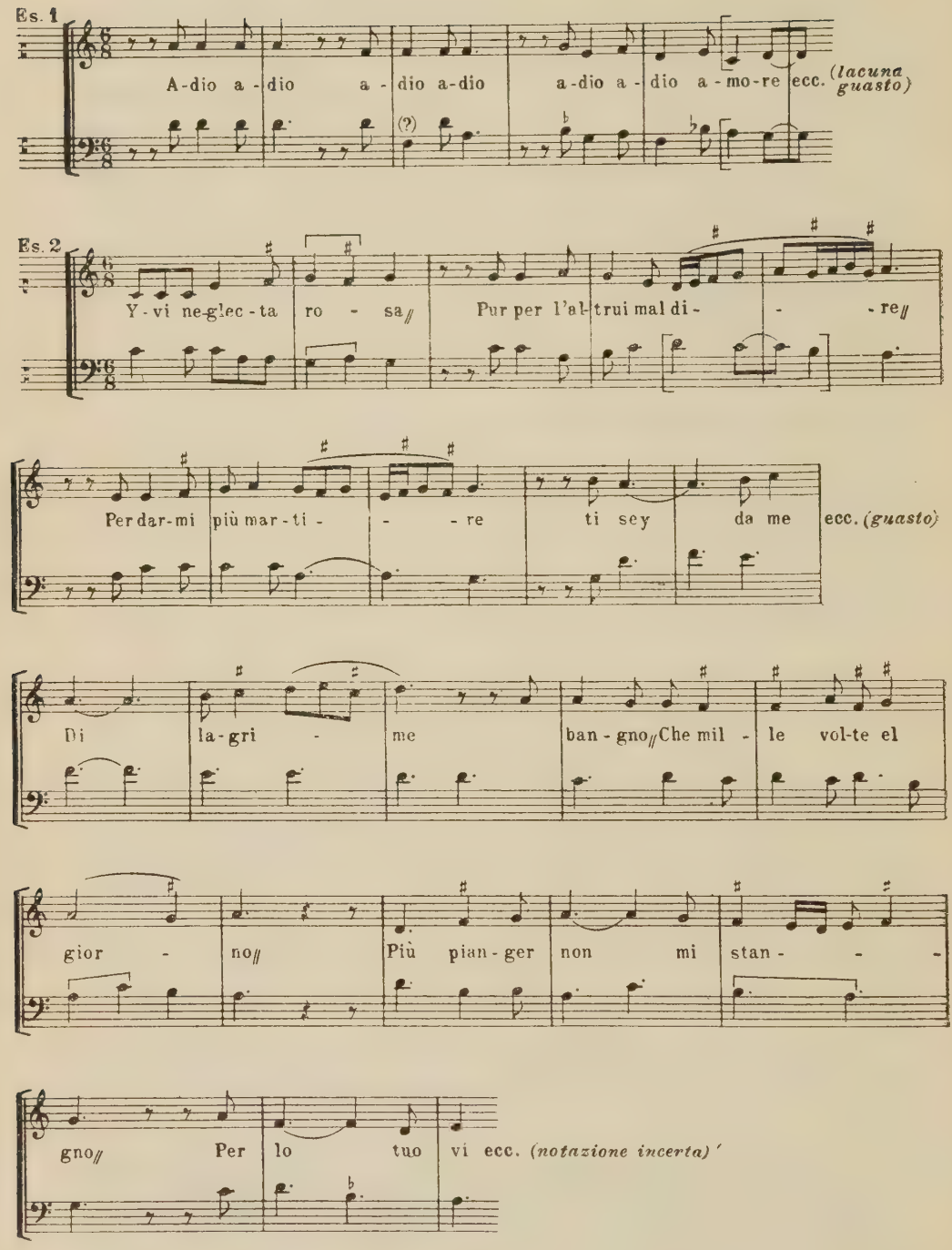
Non ò, magior pengno
Benché mi parta e sia da te lontano
Lo spirto mio sia nelle tue brazza

O dolce amor o signo(r) mio soprano
Scolpito porto nel cor la tua faccia
Merzé, merzé per Dio che stringe allaccia
Ogni mia forza, senzo, virtù e'ngegno.

The first text is of the strophic form of the ballata – *settenari* with several stanzas and with a refrain; the second text, on the other hand, approachest he endecasyllabic metrical variety, resembling the poetry of *carnascialeschi* songs. The love theme is of the conventional repertoire found in the lyrics of the time, with deception in love or yearnings that remain unsatisfied, and in which the lover uses beseaching or imprecatory language towards the loved one. Here too the latter appears allegorically as " neglecta rosa, " while, in the sorrow of separation, " adio, adio " is sung some six times. And the musical setting is not without stylistic and expressive worth.

The writer has already pointed out[3] the use, in other compositions of this period, of melodic formulas repeated to such words of

[3] Ghisi, *Italian Ars–Nova Music* . . . in Vol. I (" Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music ") of this periodical, 1947, 189. The writer had recently (Feb. 1948) occasion to discuss some further points in the development of Italian secular polyphony between 1450 and 1480 in a lecture before the Institute des Hautes Etudes de Belgique, entitled: " De quelques nouvelles sources relatives aux ' Strambotti-


Es. 1
A-dio a-dio a-dio a-dio a-dio a-dio a-dio a-mo-re ecc. (lacuna guasto)
Es. 2
Y-vi ne-glec-ta ro-sa// Pur per l'al-trui mal di-re//
Per dar-mi più mar-ti-re ti sey da me ecc. (guasto)
Di la-gri-me ban-gno// Che mil-le vol-te el
gior-no// Più pian-ger non mi stan-
gno// Per lo tuo vi ecc. (notazione incerta)

intense and pathetic nature as those referring to lamentation or death, or, as in this case, to leave-taking, in order to stir the emotions of the hearer. However, while such passages elsewhere receive an imitative or sequential treatment, in the case of the ballata " Adio, adio, amore mio sostegno " the composition starts off with a syllabic, vertical setting and only here and there do some melodic embellishments of Ars-Nova usage appear. Also " Yvi neglecta rosa " presents the typical aspect of homophony of two voices, with occasional syncopes or ornamental cadences, again in the style of Ars-Nova (Example 2).

In concluding this brief note, it may be suggested that these two ballate, given in the late notation of Ars-Nova could belong to the historical and stylistic moment embraced by the years 1435-55, and represented by such sources as the codeces 2216 of the University of Bologna; Vat., Urb., Lat. 1411, Rome; 381 of Bodleian, Oxford, and some others.

Perseverence in the search for sources of Italian secular music of this period should produce fruitful contributions to a greater knowledge of the Italian music of the Quattrocento.

Florence, Italy.

Laude ' et la tendance a l'homophonie syllabique dans la musique italienne du XV^e siècle ". The documentation of this lecture the author hopes to offer in a future publication.

THE SECOND SUMMER SESSION OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY IN ROME

1948

The first Summer Session of the Institute took place in Rome. (at the American Academy) during July and August, 1947.

The Session was attended by members from America (representing such Universities and Colleges as Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Valparaiso, Oberlin) and by members from Europe. They came from the ranks of graduate students (candidates for the degree of Ph. D.), graduates, and from the faculties of Universities and Colleges.

The faculty of the Institute consisted of Professors Jacques Handschin of Basel University, Guillaume de Van of the Institute and formerly of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Leo Schrade of Yale University, and the Director.

The courses included:

Preliminaries to Mediaeval Music and the Conductus
Musica Enchiriadis
Italian Notation of the Fourteenth Century
Marchettus of Padua and Ph. de Vitry
Tinctoris
Isaac and Agricola
Collegium Musicum

* * *

The faculty of the 1948 Session will consist of Professor Jacques Handschin of the University of Basel, Professor Yvonne Rokseth of the University of Strasbourg, Guillaume de Van of the Institute and Armen Carapetyan.

The Session will be held at the noted Renaissance villa Torre di Bellosguardo, Florence.

The following courses will be offered:

Perotinus and His School	ROKSETH
"Anonymous IV" (Coussemaker I)	ROKSETH

Origins and Development of the Polyphonic Mass	DE VAN
Theorists of the So-called Ars Nova *School*	DE VAN
Music of the Fifteenth Century	HANDSCHIN
Musical Theory and Aesthetics of the Sixteenth Century	HANDSCHIN
Josquin des Près	CARAPETYAN
Collegium Musicum, in charge of	CARAPETYAN

Lectures will be delivered in English.

* * *

Information regarding admission, tuition, fellowships, and all other details will be found in Prospectus 4, available upon request.